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THE

# HISTORY

OF

# ITALY,

Translated from the ITALIAN of FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

B Y

The THIRD EDITION.

In TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON,

Printed for Z. STUART, at the Lamb, in Pater-nofter-Row.

MDCCLXIII.

# HISTORRY

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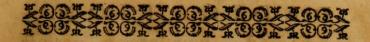
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#### TO

The Right Honourable the

## Countels of POMFRET.

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MADAM,

prefumed to appear in Print, had I not had the Honour and good Fortune of Your Ladyship's Acquaintance. In a Conversation Two Years ago, You expressed the Satisfaction You should receive in reading a faithful Translation of Guicciardini's History in our Language. This induced me to render a Sheet of it into English, which Your Ladyship was so good as to approve

### DEDICATION.

prove. As you are a perfect Judge of both Languages, I confirued Your Approbation for an Encouragement; and, with no small Labour, have gone through the Whole History. If I find my Undertaking has answered Your Ladyship's Expectation (which is the Height of my Ambition) I shall have no Reason to doubt of its being acceptable to the Public.

I am, MADAM,

Your Ladyship's

Honour and good Partune of Your

most obedient

of it into Libert, which I our

humble Servant, when

Austin Parke Goddard.



# To the READER.

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Ptiblic has been to indulgent as to take

With HE higher the Opinion the World entertains of the Merit with of Guicciardini's History, the greater the Expectation may be of seeing it rendered properly into English. The Translator, therefore, to obviate all Prejudices and Prepossessions, thinks proper to give the following Account of himself.

THE Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosmo III. having had some Knowledge of the Translator's Family, sent for him to Italy before he had attained the Eleventh Year of his Age. He lived Eighteen Years in that Country, Seven of them in the Academy of Siena, and other Places of Study, and the Remainder at the Court of Florence, where his Royal Highness honoured him with the Order of St. Stephen.

This was mentioned in the First Edition by the Translator, as an Excuse for

### To the READER.

for the Propriety of his English. But fince the Public has been so indulgent as to take offall the Copies of the first Four Volumes, so as to put him under a Necessity of enlarging the Number of the rest, and reprinting the first Four, he congratulates himself in thinking he has no farther Occasion to apologize on that Score. Animated by this Success, he applied himself with still greater Attention to the Revisal of the Remainder, as also of the first Four Books before their Re-publication.

The Good Dake of Julyany, Copie 11. having his lone Knows dee of the Thorn

for he had artained the Eleventh, I can of

Country, Seven of them in the Academy, of Sien, and other files, of Sien, and the Research of Lange,

Ture was mear need in the sound



#### THE

### L F E

OF

## Francesco Guicciardini,

Taken chiefly from Signior Domenico Manni of Florence.

Families which adorn the City of Florence, that of the Guicciardini may be well placed in the first Rank, both for its Antiquity, and on account of the Great Men it has produced. Several of them have been fent on Embassies, and employed in the most important Posts of the State. They reckon Sixteen Gonfalonieri, which was formerly the Supreme Dignity in the Republic, for the A 4 Senatorial

Senatorial Order was not instituted till the Year 1532, when Forty-Eight Senators were created with the Sovereign at their Head. The stately Palace of the Guicciardini still remains, and gives Name to the Street where it stands, near which is the Old Church of Santa Felicita, adorned with many of their Devices, and Altars officiated by Chaplains of their Nomination. They have been Lords of feveral Castles in Valdipesa ever fince the Year 1150. That of Popiano was fold by Nicoló Guicciardini, in 1445, for Three Thousand Florins to Galeazzo Malatesta of Pefaro, and re-purchased into the Family, in 1449, by Jacopo and Piero, but now they have only the Presentation to the Chief Church.

FROM fuch noble Blood then fprung our Francesco. His Father's Name was Piero, a famous Lawyer, and a valiant Officer, who was appointed Commissary General of the Florentines in 1501, and afterwards being sent Ambassador to Leo the Tenth, displayed such Eloquence in a Speech he made to the Pontiss, that the Audience

Audience affirmed, None but the Florentines were compleat Orators. This confirms what an Historian has writ, that our Francesco was endued with an hereditary Eloquence. For Jacopo, Piero's Father, was also a learned Man as well as a great General.

I HAVE thought it necessary to make this Preamble, to give a greater Lustre to the Character of Francesco: For the one cannot well affert that Virtue is hereditary, yet to have before our Eyes the glorious Deeds of our Ancestors, is a great Encouragement to endeavour to attain it: For this Reason Varro thought it commendable, and useful to the State, that Men, like Alexander, should imagine themselves Sons of some Deity, that, inspired with so high a Notion, they might disdain to attend to mean Employments.

SIMONA GIANFILIAZZI, the Mother of Francesco and seven other Children, was also descended of an antient and noble Family. As for the Time of his Birth, and some other Particulars relating to the Author's Life, they cannot

be better ascertained, than by transcribing the Relation Francesco gives of himself, in a Manuscript of his own Hand-Writing, still extant, which is as follows.

"I FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI, " Doctor of Civil and Common Law. " was born the 6th of March, 1482, " in Florence, about Ten of the Clock: " The Name of Francesco was given me, " in Memory of Francesco Nerli, my " Father's Grandfather by his Mother's " Side: I was also Christened by the " Name of Thomas, the Day I was born " happening to be the Festival of Saint "Thomas Aquinas. My Godfathers were " M. Marfilio Ficino, the greatest Pla-" tonic Philosopher then in the Universe, "Giovanni Canacci, and Piero del Nero, " both likewise Philosophers. In the " Year 1498, about the End of November, I began to study the Civil Law, and that Year at Florence I heard the Institutes from M. Jacopo Modesti of Carmignano, for that Study was loft in Pifa. Rinieri Guicciardini, my " Uncle, was Archdeacon of the Metro-" politan

"was obliged to submit. The 15th of November, 1505, I received my Degrees in the Chapter of St. Lawrence,
in the College of the Students at Pisa,
erected in 1497: But I chose only to
be Doctor of the Civil Law, because
I thought the Cannon of little Importance: My Sponsors were M. Antonio Malagonelli, M. Francesco Pepi,
and M. Vittorio Soderini, and the same
Morning I read my Lecture." So far
Guicciardini's Manuscript.

In the 23d Year of his Age, he was appointed a Professor of the Institutes at Florence, with a competent Salary for those Days, and soon established such a Character, that he was consulted and preferred to all other Lawyers his Co-temporaries. Antonio Ciossi gives him the Name of Clarissimus Jurisconsultus, [a most eminent Lawyer.] Many of his Opinions are yet extant, and are preserved in the samous Library of Sig. Carlo Tomaso Strozzi, a Gentleman, to whom all Lovers of Arts and Erudition are very much indebted.

In the Year 1506, Guicciardini married Maria, Daughter of Alemanno Everardo Salviati, without Comparison the greatest Man in Florence. In 1507, he was chosen by many Cities of the State for their standing Counsellor, and two Years after made Advocate of the Florentine Chapter, which was a very honourable Employment, both for its Dignity and because it had always been filled with the most learned Counsellors of the City. In 1509, he was elected Advocate of the Order of the Camaldoli, and continued in this Way of Life until the Year 1511, when the supreme Magistracy thought proper to make use of his Talents in a more public Manner. happened within that Time, they never

THE French and Spaniards had entered into a League against the Italians, and the Florentines were very much perplexed, not being determined whether they should engage in the League, or remain neuter. On this Occasion they appointed our Francesco Ambassador to Ferdinando King of Spain, to treat about this and several other

important Affairs; as he mentions in the 10th Book of his History. He left Florence in January, 1512, and after a profperous Journey came to Burgos, where the King refided, and remained two Years at his Court. A large Field was here opened for his Improvement in the Management of Affairs: Many Events happened in that Time, which came within his Province to negotiate; fuch as the taking and plundering of Ravenna and Prato by the Spaniards, the deposing of Piero Soderini, and the Restoration of the Family of the Medici. What concerned these and other Negotiations was transacted by him with universal Applause, and the Republic had fuch an Opinion of his Capacity, that, though feveral Occurrences happened within that Time, they never fent any other Minister. The King was also intirely satisfied with his Behaviour; a Proof of which was the great Quantity of fine-wrought Plate, he made him a Present of at his Departure. On his Return, at Piacenza he heard the melancholy News of his Father's Death, which was formething alleviated by the unufual Marks

Marks of Honour and Respect paid him when he came to Florence.

On the 13th of December, 1515, Leo the Tenth made his pompous Entry into Florence, accompanied by a great Number of Cardinals. Guicciardini had been deputed by the Republic to go and receive him at Cortona, where the Pope, taken by his engaging Behaviour, or convinced, on this Occasion, of the Truth of what Fame had fpread of his Abilities, the Day after his Arrival, of his own accord, in a Congregation of Cardinals, declared him Advocate of the Confiftory. When he came to Florence, he conferred indeed the same Dignity on Vincenzo Paleotti of Bologna, a learned Lawyer, who was Counfel to the King of England, and on Lancellotto Politi of Siena, afterwards Archbishop of Confa. But what is here faid, is to shew that Guicciardini was the first who received this Honour, and that, by the Recommendation only of his own Merit. The Pope's Favours did not stop here; for not long after he fent for him to come to Rome, with a View of employing him where where he might best display his Talents. In 1518, he gave him the Government of Modena and Reggio, in that perilous Time a Place of Trust that required vast Circumspection, which he shewed himself Master of, by deluding with a prudent Dexterity the Person who, relying on his Youth and Unexperience in Military Asfairs, endeavoured to make himself Master of Reggio.

IN 1521, Guicciardini's good Conduct in his Office obtained him the Government of Parma, from whence Bocchi writes he drove away the French, and confirmed the Parmesans in their Obedience and Submission, which proved a very difficult Task; for it was when the Holy See was vacant by the Death of Leo, and when the People he commanded were full of Fears, disheartened and unarmed. He retained the fame Post under Adrian the Sixth, to whom he discovered the dangerous Defigns of Alberto Pio da Carpi, and got him removed from the Government of Reggio and Rubiera. Giulio de' Medici, who took the

the Name of Clement the Seventh, as foon as he was exalted to the Pontificate, confirmed him in that Government. In the Year 1523 he prevented the Duke of Ferrara from feizing on Modena; in Acknowledgment of which the Pope made him Governor of that Place, and President of Romagna, with an unlimitted Authority. This was a Place of great Dignity and Power, yet a very laborious and dangerous Situation, confidering the Circumstances of the Times, the Enmities and Factions then running fo high: But his Prudence not only overcame all thefe Difficulties, but in the Midst of them he found Means to contribute to the Conveniency and Delight of the Inhabitants, by embellishing their Towns, that lay almost in Rubbish, with good Houses and magnificent Edifices. This rendered his Name fo acceptable to those People, that they were overjoyed when, after a further Promotion of Guicciardini, they understood he was to be succeeded in his Government by his Brother. This happened the 6th of June, 1526, when the Pope by a Brief declared him Lieutenant General Vol. I. B

General of all his Troops in the Ecclefiastical State, with an Authority over his Forces in other Parts also that were under the Command of any Captain General; wherefore Girolamo in his Ninth Book writes, "When, in 1527, the Citizens of Ravenna had Reason to fear the intire Destruction of their Country, Guicciardini, Commander of the Pope's and all the Confederate Forces, came to our Aid." There is an original Letter from the Duke of Milan, still preserved in the Family, directed, Illustrissimo Domino Francisco Guicciardino Locumtenenti Pontificio & tanquam Patri bonor: In Castris Sanctissima Liga; and ends De V. S. come filio Francesco 2do Sf. Visconte Duca di Milano; and another from the King of France, with this honourable Address, A mon Cousin Francesco Guicciardini, Gouverneur Gen. du Pape.

GUICCIARDINI, according to Bocchi, was excellent both in the Cabinet and Camp; and, as Scipione Amirato observes, it was impossible he should be otherwise, when one considers the different Employ-

ments

ments and Negotiations he was trufted with, and the many Consultations, both Civil and Military, at which he was prefent. Possevino writes, that he was very well verfed in all Affairs concerning Peace or War; and Benedetto Varchi in his History has this Paragraph, " Francesco Guicciardini, besides his Nobility, besides his Riches, besides his Degrees, besides his having been Governor and Lieutenant General of the Pope, was also highly esteemed not only for his Knowledge but also for the Experience he had in Civil Affairs and political Transactions, a Subject he talked and judged of extremely well." Domenico Mellini, in the Description he gives of Queen Giovanna of Austria's Entry into Florence, calls him a Man of Prudence, and well versed in the Management of grand Affairs relating to Government. Sansevino thus confirms all that had been faid by others: " The Pope and other Princes in the Alliance were fo fenfible of his Integrity and Abilities that, by their Authority, he opened all their Letters that passed through his Hand whilft he was in the Field, and B 2 corcorrected and altered their Orders as he thought the Exigency of Affairs required." Bocchi in another Place calls him one of the greatest Men in Italy; which indeed Guicciardini has proved himself to be in the two excellent Books he has written, intitled, Political and Military Advertisements.

No Wonder if a Man of such Parts was courted by all the Learned: It were to be wished, that we could look into his Correspondence; but as his Letters, by fatal Negligence, have perished, our Curiosity in this Point can only be satisfied by some written to him; a Part of these are from Cardinal Pietro Bembo, Secretary to Leo X. and are to be seen in his printed Letters; and others from Bernardo Tasso, amongst which is that samous Sonette in his Works.

Arno ben puoi il tuo Natio soggiorno Lasciar nell Appeninno, &c.

I T appears from the Letters of Bembo that he possessed the agreeable Art of engaging gaging the Affections both of private Persons and Princes: All our Histories make mention of the Pains he took, in the Year 1527, to quell a dangerous Insurrection in Florence, when the Army of the League was there, under the Constable of Bourbon, at which Juncture that City would probably have been sacked, and a great Part of the Nobility murdered, if Francesco, by his Interposition, Counsel, and smooth Speeches, had not prevented it.

Some Authors, tho' of no great Note, have ventured to tax Guicciardini with Prolixity, but they are much outweighed by those of a superior Judgment. Scipione Ammirato, the elder, in his fine dedicatory Epistle to the Great Duke of Tuscany, expresses himself thus: "Guicciardini explains the Causes and Reamond of Things so justly, praises the good Actions, and blames the bad, so free from Malice, Prejudice, or Envy, and lays before the Eyes of the Reamond of the Customs and Qualities of Permissions in such proper Colours, and all this B 3 "with

" with fuch Decorum and Majesty, that " he creates rather Wonder and Afto-" nishment, than Hopes of equalling, much less surpassing him: He seems " to have been the only one, that in this " corrupt and flattering Age understood, " and was thorough Master of what be-" longs to the Office of an Historian: He " banished all human Prejudices, and feat-" ing himself on the most venerable Chair " of Truth, like a fevere Cenfor, who " is to pass Judgment, not on Citizens, but " on all the mighty Kings and Princes on " Earth, condemns one, blames another, " absolves a third; others he exalts with " the highest Encomiums, equalling them " in a manner with celeftial Beings. It " is not then to be wondered, that his " History, translated into all the best " Languages, flies all over Europe, ad-" ding Courage to the Brave, repri-" manding the Poltroons, counfelling " Republics, admonishing Princes, re-" ftraining Subjects within Bounds, and " instructing Mankind in general."

Bernardo Segni writes, that he was

the chief Favorite of Pope Clement; that, in 1531, he made him Governor of Bologna, and was the first Layman who had been sent to govern that City. He was in this Post when the Pope made his splendid Entry into Bologna, on the 8th of December, 1532, where he was met on the 13th of the same Month by Charles V. Our Historian affisted at the pompous Coronation of the Emperor, on St. Matthias's Day, with several Princes that came to this Solemnity, from whom he received many Civilities, every one courting his Company, for the Benefit they received from his instructive Conversation.

ONE Day the Emperor, being informed that Guicciardini attended his Levee, gave immediate Orders for his being admitted into his Dreffing-Room, and converfed with him on the Subject of the History in which he was engaged. In the mean Time one of the Courtiers informed his Majesty that a Murmur was risen amongst several Persons of Quality, and Officers of the Army, who, for many Days together, had been desiring an Audience, without B 4

being allowed that Honour. The Emperor, holding Guicciardini by the Hand, entered the Drawing-Room, and thus addressed the Company: "Gentlemen! I am informed that you think it strange that I gave Admission to Guicciardini before you; but I defire you would confider, that in one Hour I can create an Hundred Nobles, and a like Number of Officers in the Army, but I cannot produce fuch an Historian in the Space of Twenty Years. To what Purpose serve the Pains which you take to execute your respective Functions in the Camp or in the Council, if Historians, for the Instruction of your Descendants transmit not an Account of your Conduct to Posterity; who are they, that have informed Mankind of the heroic Actions of your Ancestors, but Historians? It is necessary then to honour them, that they may be encouraged to convey the Knowledge of your illustrious Deeds to Futurity. Thus, Gentlemen! you ought neither to be offended nor furprized at my Regard for Guicciardini, fince you have as much Interest in his Province as myself."

By Letters writ to him by Pietro Bembo, we are informed, that Guicciardini lived fometimes at Bologna, and fometimes at Florence, according as the Affairs of the Public required. In February, 1532, he fent a Letter to Florence, containing some Instructions; and, in April, he was ordered by the Pope to come and reform the State, and put Alessandro in Possession of that Government. He obtained from Clement. when he was at Bologna, a Brief, in which were contained many Privileges, both Spiritual and Temporal, for himself, and his Wife, and their nearest Relations. Notwithstanding his prudent Government, Varchi observes that there were several in Bologna diffatisfied with his Severity, and in general they disliked to have a Layman for their Superior; but this must be faid in his Excuse, that in those tumultuous Times he was obliged to keep every one, without Exception in Subjection, by which Means he quieted that turbulent City, which he could not have effected by Mildness. He was in this Government at the Death of Clement VII.

in 1534, when he despised the impending Danger that he was threatened with by his Enemies for his Severity who concealed their Anger in the Pope's Life-time, but now feemed determined to take their Revenge. As he was not only a wife, but also a courageous Magistrate, he raised immediately a Thousand Men, punished fome of the Mutineers, and provided for the Safety of himself and his Friends, in doing of which he put in practice this Doctrine, contained in his Fourteenth Precept. " He who does not understand how to govern Cities, and People, ought to be taught, That by punishing a Few he may quiet the rest." And in his Fiftyfeventh Precept, he fays, " Man cannot well be governed without Severity, because the Malignity of Human Nature requires it; but at the same Time Care should be taken to infinuate, that Rigor is not pleafing to him that punishes, but made use of out of Necessity, and for the public Welfare."

AFTER the Death of Clement, Guicciardini was resolved to quit that Government, ment, as he apprehended the People would no longer submit to his Commands; but the Senate having considered that many Disorders might happen, if they were lest without a Governor in the Time of the vacant See, they beseeched him to continue, promising him he should have all the Assistance requisite; to which he at last consented.

But feveral Noblemen were highly diffatisfied with him and among the rest Galeazzo Castelli and Girolamo Pepoli, who till now had been Fugitives. As foon as Clement was dead, they came into Bologna at Noon-day, accompanied by feveral of their Friends, and by fome out-lawed Perfons, well-armed. This Manner of proceeding was very displeasing to the Governor, who looked upon it as done in contempt of his Person, and therefore meditated how to revenge the Affront. One Evening two proscribed Felons, under Pepoli's Protection, were taken up by the Officers as they were walking the Streets, and carried to Prison: Guicciardini, without any farther Process, ordered ordered them to be immediately executed. Count Girolamo Pepoli, in great Wrath, got a Number of his Friends together, and was going in quest of the Governor to feek his Revenge; but the Senate sent some of their Members to Pepoli, to defire him to return to his House, and not occasion a Tumult, which he complied with for fear of disobliging the Senate.

So far Pompeo Vizzani, an Historian of Bologna; who also relates that Guicciardini ever after owed the Bolognese a Grudge. Remigio adds, that as soon as Guicciardini was apprised that a new Governor was appointed, he resolved to quit the Town; and though the Pepoli had threatened his Destruction, because he had hanged two of their Bravo's, yet he took with him but a few Horsemen, besides his own Servants; and as it was his direct Road, he would not avoid passing by the Palace of the Pepoli; but, contrary to the Expectation of every Body, they remained quiet, without giving him any Disturbance in the Journey.

AFTER

AFTER this happened the tragical and unexpected Death of the Duke of Florence, on which occasion the Senate asfembled, and our Francesco, who was in all the fecret Conferences, had Influence enough to procure the Election of Colmo, Son of Giovanni de' Medici, which gave Occasion to Giorgio Vassari to place him next to the Duke, in his fine Painting in the old Palace, representing this Election. Whilst this Prince governed, Guicciardini lived retired, without meddling in public Affairs, unless when his Advice was required. All he now defired was a quiet Recess, that he might have Leisure to . continue his History, already begun, to which he was earnestly follicited by 7acopo Nardi, who was himself a famous Historian. But in the Midst of his Retirement, Pope Paul III. coming from Nice, passed through Florence; where, first in Person, then by Letters, and, at last, by means of Cardinal Ducci, he earnestly endeavoured to persuade, I may fay, pressed him, to come to Rome: But he refisted all Entreaties, and all the

STITE.

the advantageous Offers that were made him, which entirely diferedits what Varchi has writ of his Avarice and Ambition. But as many are apt to judge of inward Motives from outward Appearances, they imagined his Refusal proceeded from his being married, and without Sons, which made it impracticable, either for him, or his Descendants, to become Prelates or Cardinals. He might also consider that, as there was no good Harmony between his Master and the Pope, it would not be decent in him to quit the former, and ferve the latter. But the chief Reafon feems to have been the natural Defire that Men, satiated with Business, have for the Sweets of Retirement; on which being fully determined, he disengaged himself from the Pope's Sollicitations in a handfome Manner, and gave himself up entirely to the finishing of his History at Emma, his delightful Country-house, often mentioned by the Historians, because it was his, and memorable even then for the Encampment and Quarters of the Prince of Orange, at the Siege of Florence, in 1529.

Our Author enjoyed but a short Time the Tranquility and Peace of Mind he expected to find in his Retirement: For he died the 27th of May, 1540, in the 50th Year of his Age, and, as reported, of Grief. For the Duke, in whose Election he had so much interested himself, put in practice all the Methods he could devife, to oppress the remaining Spirit of Liberty in his Country, which he effected by ima poverishing his Subjects. In the Time of the Republic, no Nobleman was qualified for any Post in the Government, till he had made himself Member of one of the feveral Trading Companies in Florence\*. This Regulation making it no Difgrace for a Gentleman to keep a Shop in the Wholefale way, the Trade of Florence was become so extensive, as to render it one of the richest Cities in Europe. At Pifa is shewn to this Day the Place, from whence they fay the Florentine Gallies fet out, once solvation it voice blooth class every

\* Noblemen in Italy are no more than what we call the Gentry; and though there is a very great Number of Marquisses and Counts, yet, as in Italy there is no Precedence amongst Gentlemen, they claim no particular Rank.

every Year, with Woolen Goods for England, which they reached, by coasting along the French, Spanish and Portugal Shores.

DUKE Cosmo, to lessen this Trade, promoted the Noblemen to Places of Honour and Profit, without requiring the aforefaid Qualification, and erected the Order of St. Stephen from which all Traders were excluded. In the Institution of this Order, he followed the Plan of that of Malta, the most material Difference between the two confifting only in the Article of Celibacy; for like them the Knights of St. Stephen make Proof of their Birth, fight against the Turks, and enjoy Commenderies. As the fagacious Duke knew the Paffion of Mankind for transmitting their Titles to their Posterity, he made a Decree, That any Gentleman who would erect a Commenderie upon his Estate of no less Value than Ten Thousand Crowns, He, and his eldest Heirs Male, should enjoy it with the Title of Commendeurs. But in Failure of Male Issue, such Commenderies should devolve to the Order, which in the Course

of fo many Years has greatly enriched it. The Grand Master, who is now the prefent Emperor, has all these Commenderies in his Disposal. The Duke, to allure his Gentry into this new Order, endowed the Knights with many valuable Privileges, and amongst the rest that of no Executions being performed to take Place against either their Persons or Effects. These Privileges, together with a natural Passion the Italians, as much as any other Nation, have for Titles, induced great Numbers of the Tuscan Nobility to retire from Trade, whereby many Noble Families are impoverished, and rendered dependant on the Sovereign +. These and the like Mea-VOL .I. fures

† The Great Duke Cosmo the Third, when on his Travels, was treated in England with a particular Regard by several Noblemen and Gentlemen, to whom he afterwards sent Presents of Wine during his Life, and when any of them, or their Family, came into his Dominions, he never failed shewing them Marks of his Gratitude. In the Year 1712, on the Arrival at Florence of the Honograble Thomas Clifford, eldest of the Grandsons to the Lord of that Name, who had been High Treasurer when the Great Duke was in England, his Royal Highness conferred on him the Order of St. Stephen: And, as I well remember, Sir Henry Bedingseld, Bart. was to have received the Cross, and have been installed at that Juncture, had his Time permitted him to stay in Florence, till her Majesty's

fures were so grievous to Guicciardini, that, as Bernardo Segni writes, he died of a broken Heart, and in Despair, because the Affairs of his Country were so ill conducted: Others have reported that, unable to bear the Sight of the deplorable State to which Florence was reduced, he prevailed on one of his intimate Friends to administer him Poison. But Remigio, Rondinelli, Giovanni Imperiali, and several other authentic Historians, intirely clear him from that Imputation, and assures he died of a violent Fever \*.

HE

Majesty's Permission could be procured, as it had been for the other. On the Death of the said Thomas, the Honourable Henry Clifford, his younger Brother, was knighted. We have also the Commendeur Cosmo Newil, whose Father Count Migliorucci, descended of a very ancient Tuscan Family, erected a Commenderic on his Estate, to which the present Commendeur Cosmo Newil his Son by one of the Heiresses of the Newils of Holt, is intitled.

\* There are still existing several Republican Families in Florence, and I myself have heard some detest the Memory of Guicciardini for contributing to enslave his Country by espousing the Interest of the Family of the Medici, and think that he was so far from taking to Heart the Exercise of an arbitrary Administration, that he might probably have had a Hand in forming the Plan of the Order of St. Stephen; which, however, was not confirmed till after his Death.

HE was buried with Honour, but without Pomp, having expressly ordered that no Shew or Funeral Oration, as was customary, should be made, nor any Inscription put upon his Grave; which last was obferved till the Year Sixteen Hundred and Twenty, when the Family repaired the great Chapel, and the following Inscription was ordered to be engraved.

FRANCISCO GUICCIARDINO Senat: Peri F.

Vigentem Ætatem Rebus maximis Agendis impendit In conscribenda præclara Historia Vergentem Cujus Negocium an Ocium Gloriofius incertum Nisi Occii Lumen Negocii Famam Clariorem reddisset.

FRANCESCO was tall, and of a venerable Aspect; he had large Shoulders, a plain Face, a strong and robust Constitu-The Family have a Picture of him, that feems to have been drawn in those Days aecumulating

Days; fuch another is in the House of Signor Nicolo Panciatici: One of them probably is that mentioned by Giorgio Vasari, in the Third Part of his Lives of the Painters, where he fays, " At that Time I painted several Pieces, and amongst the rest the Picture of Messer Francesco Guicciardini, who was just returned from Bologna, at his Country House near Montici, which pretty well refembled him, and was admired." One of his Pictures is to be feen in the Great Duke's Gallery. in the left Wing, amongst the famous Historians, and another in the right, amongst the Men of great Learning. There is also in the Museum of Sig. Carlo Tomaso Strozzi, a Brass Medal, struck in those Days, which feems to have a good Refemblance; on the Backfide is represented a Rock, without any Inscription, alluding to his Constancy and Intrepidity. In general those who make mention of him agree, that he was a great Professor of the Law, Learned, Upright, and Incorrupt: Of this latter he gave a fufficient Proof, by his leaving so little Wealth, after the numberless Opportunities he had of accumulating

accumulating Riches. He was of a quick and high Conception, of fingular Judgment, had a good Memory, was profound and prudent in his Counfels, efficacious in Persuading, eloquent in Speech, and had a peculiar Talent in describing the Characters of Men. He was choleric, but not rash, affable, but no Lover of Jests, preserving ever a certain Gravity. He wrote feveral Books, as the Sacking of Rome, Considerations on State Affairs, Counsels and Admonitions, some Letters, several Law Cases, and an Epistle in Verse, which makes Crescimbeni place him amongst the Tuscan Poets. As soon as his History appeared in public, it was immediately translated into Latin, and has had several Editions in most of the European Languages; an unquestionable Argument of the Author's extraordinary Merit.

ENOUGH has been faid of his History; to which I shall only add the Testimony of the late Lord Bolingbroke, who in his Third Letter On the Study of History, calls him the Admirable Historian; and in his Fifth says of him, I should not scruple to C 3.

prefer Guicciardini to Thucydides in every Respect.

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI left a Wife, who lived till the Year 1559, and Three Daughters. Two married into the Family of the Capponi, and the other into that of Ducci. He had Three Brothers, Luigi, Jacopo, and Girolamo: From Jacopo came the famous Author of the Commentaries of Europe, from 1529 to 1560, who also wrote a Description of the Low Countries, &c. His Name was Lodovico, and lies buried at Antwerp. From his other Brother, the Senator, Girolamo is descended, in a direct Line, Francesco Maria Gaetano, who was a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his late Royal Highness the Grand-Duke Cosmo.



Hayout all has been figt of



# Francesco Guicciardini's

## HISTORY

OF

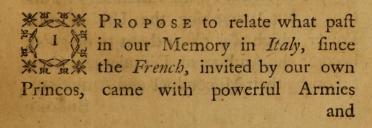
### The WARS in ITALY.

#### BOOK I.

**秦母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母母** 

#### THE CONTENTS.

Causes which produced the Italian Wars' Expedition of Charles the Eighth, King of France, into Italy. Expulsion of Piero de' Medici from Florence. Rebellion of Pisa. Conquest of Naples.



and interrupted her Repose: A Subject, for its Greatness and Variety highly memorable, and full of melancholy Events; Italy for along Series of Years having laboured under all fuch Calamities as the Almighty is wont, in his Displeasure, to inflict on wretched Mortals for their Impieties and Wickedness. From the Knowledge of fo many, fo various, and fo important Incidents, every one may draw Instructions of fome fort or other, conducive both to his own and to the Public Good. By numberless Examples it will evidently appear, that human Affairs are as subject to Change and Fluctuation as the Waters of the Sea, agitated by the Winds: And also how pernicious, often to themselves, and ever to their People, are the precipitate Measures of our Rulers, when actuated only by the Allurement of fome vain Project, or present Pleasure and Advantage. Such Princes never allow themselves Leisure to reflect on the Inflability of Fortune; but, perverting the Use of that Power which was given them to do good, become the Authors of Difquiet and Confusion by their Misconduct and Ambition. BEFORE

BEFORE I proceed to give my Reader A. D. an Account of the Troubles in Italy, toge-1490. ther with the Causes from whence so many Evils were derived, it will not be improper to observe, that our Calamities affected us with fo much the greater Terror and Sensibility, as the Minds of Men were perfectly at Ease, and the Country at that Time in a State of profound Peace and Tranquillity. It is certain that, for above a thousand Years back, at which Period the Roman Empire, weaken'd by a Change of her antient Institutions, began to decline from that Pitch of Grandeur, to the attaining of which the most amazing Virtue and good Fortune had equally contributed, Italy had at no Time enjoy'd a State of fuch compleat Prosperity and Repose, as in the Year 1490, and some time before and after. The People also had taken Advantage of this Halcyon Season, and been busied in cultivating all their Lands, as well Mountains as Vallies; and being under no Foreign Influence, but governed by their own Princes, Italy not only abounded with Inhabitants and Riches, but grew renowned for the Gran-

deur

A. D. deur and Magnificence of her Sovereigns, 1490. for the Splendor of many noble and beautiful Cities; for the Seat and Majesty of Religion, and for a Number of great Men of distinguished Abilities in the Administration of public Affairs, and of excellent Accomplishments in all the Sciences and in every noble Art: She had also no fmall Share of military Glory, according to the Knowledge and Practice of Arms in those Days. The plant was Waller and the

Lorenzo

A N happy Concurrence of Causes had preserved her in this flourishing Condition. de'Medici. Amongst the rest, common Fame ascribed no fmall Share to the Virtue and active Spirit of Lorenzo de' Medici: A Citizen of fuch diftinguished Merit in the State of Florence, that the whole Affairs of that Republic were conducted as he thought proper to advise or direct. And it was indeed to the Happiness of her Situation, the Ingenuity of the People, and the flourishing State of the public Credit, and her Opulency, that this Commonwealth chiefly owed her Power and Influence; for the Extent of its Dominion was not great. I will to be two be ween if

LORENZO,

LORENZO, by Marriage, had made a A. D. strict Alliance with Pope Innocent the Eighth; which gave him still greater Credit and Authority with the Princes of Italy. He knew how destructive it would prove, both to himself and the Republic of Florence if any of them should increase his Dominions at the Expence of his Neighbours; and was therefore ever watchful to prevent the most minute Cause of Strife or Misunderstanding among them, left the Ballance of Power, which then subsisted in Italy, should suffer any Alteration.

FERDINANDO of Aragon, King of Ferdinan-Naples, was in the fame Disposition: A do King very sagacious Prince, and highly esteem'd; of Naples. tho' formerly he had often discovered an ambitious and turbulent Spirit. He was instigated, at this very Time by Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, his eldest Son, to refent the Injury done to Giovanni Galeazzo can Sfonza, Duke of Milan, who had married Alfonso's Daughter. The Duke had been excluded from the Administration of all public Affairs by his Uncle Lodovico Sforza;

A. D. Sforza; who through the Weakness and dissolute Behaviour of Bona, this young Prince's Mother, had procured for himfelf the Tuition of him. Having enjoy'd the Regency Ten Years together, and, by little and little, rendered himself also Master of the Fortresses, Army, Treasure, and whatever supported the State; he at length refused, under Pretence of his Nephew's Want of Capacity, to refign his Office; continuing to govern, (tho his Kinsman was above Twenty Years old) not as Guardian, or Regent, but with all the Formality and Actions of the Prince, tho' he did not affume the Ducal Title. Ferdinando, however, remained attentive to his first Object, which was the Prefervation of the public Peace: And, therefore, would neither gratify his own warlike Disposition, nor the just Refentment of his Son, at the Hazard of fo invaluable a Bleffing. But he was the more cautious of creating any Divisions in Italy, because he had perceived, in some late dangerous Commotions, that he was hated by his Subjects; particularly by a Party among his Barons, who were still attached

#### THE WARS IN ITALY.

attached to the old French Interest; and, A. D. as he apprehended, would, in case of any Rupture, invite them to invade his Dominions. To this Motive may be added, a Desire he had to counterballance the formidable Power of the Venetians, which at that Time alarmed all Italy; and he was sensible, that his Union with the other Powers, with the States especially of Milan and Florence, was requisite for that Purpose.

LODOVICO SFORZA, tho' of a turbu-Lodovico lent and ambitious Temper, could not Sforza. but be pleased with the same Measures. For the Venetian Power was as much dreaded by the Sovereigns of Milan, as by other Princes. Besides, it was much easier for him to preserve his usurped Authority in a Time of Peace and Tranquillity, than amidst the Confusion and Cafualties of War. And tho' he was always apprehensive of Ferdinando and Alfonso, yet he could depend upon the peaceable Disposition of Lorenzo de' Medici, who was also jealous as well as himself, of the King of Naples. He was persuaded, moreA. D. moreover, that the Animofities which then subsisted between Ferdinando and the Venetians, rendered an Union between them impracticable: And being satisfy'd that he would find it dangerous to act without, and difficult to procure an Alliance, he thought himself secure from any Attempt that could be made against him from that Quarter.

THERE was then the fame Inclination for Peace in Ferdinando, Lodovico, and Lorenzo; partly from the same, and partly from different Motives: So that a Confederacy many Years before contracted, in the Name of Ferdinando, King of Naples, Giov. Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, and the Republic of Florence, for the mutual Defence of each other's Dominions, was with Ease corroborated and confirmed. This League, of fome Years flanding, as I observed, but interrupted by various Accidents, was renewed for Twenty-five Years, in 1480, and acceded to by all the inferior Powers of Italy. The chief Defign of the contracting Parties was to keep down the Power of the Ve-- 210xti netians:

netians; who were without question fu- A. D. perior to any of the Confederates separate-1490. ly, but not able to cope with them when united. Their Senate seemed to confider themselves, and acted, as a Body, that had little or no Connection with the other People of Italy; widening every Breach, Venetians. and cherishing and fomenting Discord amongst them, in hopes of attaining, by these Means, the Sovereignty of Italy. The whole Tenor of their Councils and Conduct manifested their Design: But it appeared most plainly, when, upon the Death of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of of Milan, they attempted, under the plaufible Pretence of preferving the Liberties of the Milanese, to make themfelves Masters of that Dutchy: And in a more recent Instance, when with open Violence they endeavoured to feize the Dukedom of Ferrara. This Confederacy produced the intended Effect, fo far as to restrain the Ambition of the Venetians, but it did not unite the Confederates in a fincere and folid Friendship among themfelves. Their Envy and Emulation of each other made them watchful of every Motion. Ornandis

A. D. Motion, and jealous of every Measure, that they conceived might any way increase the Power or Credit of their Neighbours. This Precaution, however, did not make the Peace less secure: On the contrary, it created a most ardent Impatience in them all to quench immediately those Sparks which, if neglected, might break out into a general Conflagration. Such then was the State of Affairs; these were the Foundations for the Tranquility of Italy; foconnected, and counterpoifed, that there was not only no Appearance of a prefent Change, but the most discerning Person could not devise, by what Counsels, Accidents, or Powers, fuch a Peace could be disturbed.

In April 1492, Lorenzo de' Medici was

1492. taken off by a premature Death; not being
The quite Forty-four Years of Age. His
Death of Death was a grievous Stroke to his Counde' Modici try which, by means of his Reputation,
Prudence, and a Genius which naturally disposed him to all honourable and excellent Undertakings, wonderfully flourished in Riches, and in all those Bleffings and
Ornaments

#### THE WARS IN ITALY.

II

Ornaments which in human Affairs are A. D. the usual Attendants of a long and secure Peace. His Death was indeed lamented by all Italy, not only on account of his Zeal and Sollicitude for the public Security, and for his great and successful Diligence in moderating and curbing the frequent Jealousies and Dissensions of Ferdinando and Lodovico Sforza, Princes of equal Ambition and Power.

Months after by that of Pope Innocent Eighth; Death of which laid the Foundation of further Ca-Innocent the 8th. lamities. The Public had been but little benefited by him: Yet he was commendable in one Particular; which was, that after he had foon laid down the Arms he had unfuccefsfully taken up, at the Commencement of his Reign, against Ferdinando, at the Instigation of his discontented Barons, giving himself up entirely to Indolence and Ease, he never would concern himself, nor suffered any that depended on him to intermeddle in any Project that might dissurb the Happiness of Italy.

Vol. I. D To

To Innosent succeeded Roderigo Borgia, of Valenza, a Royal City in Spain. He was an antient Cardinal, and one of the ander VI. most considerable Prelates in the Court of Rome. His Election was owing partly to the Disputes that arose between the two Cardinals, Heads of Factions, Ascanio Sforza, and Giuliano of San Piero in Vincola, but chiefly to a Simony unknown in former Times: For Borgia openly corrupted many of the Cardinals, some with Money, and others with Promifes of profitable Places and Benefices, of which he had many at that Time in his Power; and they, without any Regard to the Precepts of the Gofpel, were not ashamed of making a Traffick of the facred Treafures, under the Name of divine Authority, and that in the most high and eminent Seat of the Christian Religion.

> CARDINAL ASCANIO had the principal Hand in this detestable Work, and was employed as Agent for fuch abominable Contracts. He influenced feveral with Hopes of Preferment, and alfo

also by his bad Example: For his Heart A. D. being corrupted by an immoderate Thirst of Riches, he bargained, for the Price of his Iniquity, to have the Vice-Chancellor-Thip, (the most profitable Post in the Pope's Disposal) the Revenues of divers Churches and Castles, and even the Pope's own Family Palace, with all its magnificent Furniture of an immense Value. But divine Justice overtook him; for he became an Object of Scorn aud Hatred to all Mankind, who were fill'd with Horror at an Election procured by fuch black and enormous Artifices; especially as Borgia's impious Life was every where notorious \*. The King of Naples, we are affured, upon hearing the News, diffembled his Grief in public, but with Tears, (which he was not accustomed to shed at the Death of his Children) told his Queen, that this Creation would prove fatal to Italy, and a Scandal to Christendom: A Prognostic worthy of the Prudence of Ferdinando!

D 2

ALEX-

\* Ascanio was carried Prisoner into France, and after his Return, according to Giovio, was poisoned.

14 A D. 1492.

ALEXANDER the Sixth, (for fo he would be call'd) was endowed with wonderful Acuteness, and extraordinary Sagacity; had a furprifing Genius in fuggesting Expedients in the Cabinet, an uncommon Efficacy in Perfuasion, and in all Matters of Consequence an incredible Application and Dexterity. But these great Qualities were abundantly overballanced by his Vices. For he was of very impure Manners, Infincere, Shamelefs, Falfe, Faithless and Irreligious, without Probity, infatiably covetous, immoderately fond of Dominion, barbaroufly cruel, and ardently follicitous, at any Rate, to exalt his Children, who were numerous, and amongst them some (that he might not want Instruments to execute his villainous Defigns) as bad as himfelf \*.

Piero de' Medici. THE Death of Lorenzo de' Medici occasioned a Change of no less Importance in Florence, than that of Innocent to the Church. Piero, the eldest Son of Lorenzo's three Sons, succeeded, without

\* Cæsar, Francesco, Giuffre, and Lucretia, were the Names of his Children, Opposition, to his Father's Greatness \*: 1. D.
But neither his Age nor Understanding any
ways qualify'd him for so important a
Charge; nor was he capable of proceeding with that Moderation in his domestic
and foreign Concerns, nor had he that
Prudence to temporise with his Allies,
for which his Father was so remarkable:
who by his Conduct, whilst living, had
improved both the Republic and his own
Condition, and, dying, left every one convinced, that principally thro' his Means
the Peace of Italy had been preserved.

PIERO no fooner undertook the Administration of the Republic, than he swerved from his Father's Counsels, and not consulting the principal Citizens, without whose Concurrence seldom any Resolutions were taken in Matters of Importance, suffered himself to be intirely directed by Virginio Orsini, his Relation; Piero's Wife and Mother being both of the Orsini Family. At Virginio's Persuafion he contracted so great a Friendship D 2 with

<sup>\*</sup> Lorenzo's three Sons were Piero, Giovanni who was afterwards Pope Leo the 10th, and Giuliano.

1492.

A. D. with King Ferdinando and his Son Alfonfo, on whom Virginio depended, as gave Lodovico Sforza great Cause to fear, that whenever the Aragonians \* should think proper to break with him, they would also, thro' the Interest of Piero, have the Assistance of the Florentines. This Correspondence, the Source and Origin of all the enfuing Evils, tho' in the Beginning carried on very privately, did nevertheless create Suspicions in the vigilant and penetrating Mind of Lodovico.

> By antient Custom all Christian Princes were used to send Ambassadors to pay their Obedience to the new Pontiff, and adore him as Vicar of Christ on Earth. Lodovico Sforza, who had a Propenfity of affecting to appear superior in Prudence and Contrivance to others, had proposed that all the Ambassadors of the League should enter Rome the same Day, and present themselves in a Body to the Pope in Confistory, and one, in the Name of all, should make a formal Harangue.

<sup>\*</sup> The first of the then reigning Race of Neapolitan Kings was King of Aragon, and from him his Descendants were called Aragonians.

This, he suggested, would convince all A. D. Italy, there was so much Unity and Benevolence amongst them, that they would appear as a Body under one Head, and give great Reputation to the League; and that such a Conduct was then necessary, not only Reason, but a fresh Example seemed to demonstrate. For the late Pope, grounding his Hopes on the Divisions of the Allies, which he inferred from their separate Counsels, and their paying him Obedience at different times, had ventured to attack the Kingdom of Naples.

of this Scheme of Lodovico, as did also the Florentines; Piero not contradicting in Council, out of Deference to their Authority; but he murmured at it in private. He was deputed by the Republic for one of their Ambassadors, and had determined to make a magnificent and almost Royal Appearance, but perceived, that by entering Rome and presenting himself before the Pope with the other Ambassadors, the Splendor of his Pomp in so great a Crowd D 4 would

A. D. would be much eclipsed. In which juvenile Vanity he was confirmed by Gentile Bishop of Arezzo, his Colleague, who, in regard to his Episcopal Dignity, and of his Profession of those Studies which they call Humanity, had expected to make the congratulatory Oration to the Pope, in the Name of the Florentines, and was extremely mortified that, by this unufual and unexpected Method, he should be debarred from displaying his Talents in fo august and solemn an Affembly. Piero, incited partly by his own Levity, and partly by the Bishop's Ambition, but unwilling that Lodovico should know that he opposed his Motion, requested the King to represent to him, that upon Confideration he had Reason to think the Ceremony could not be performed in common without Confusion, and therefore advised him to consent that each City in conformity to past Usage should proceed separately. The King was willing to gratify him; but not fo far as to take all the Blame and Displeasure of Lodovico upon himself; and therefore he fatisfied him more in the Effect than he

he pleased him in the Manner of accom- A. D. plishing it: For he frankly owned that he had no other Cause for disagreeing to what he had before confented but the Importunities of Piero de' Medici. Lodovice shewed more Discontent at this fudden Change, than the Nature of fuch a Trifle seemed to require; and complained very bitterly that it being known to the Pope, and the whole Court of Rome that he was the Author of the first Resolution, it should now be retracted on purpose to make him comtemptible in the Eyes of the World. But he was much more displeased to find, by this little and infignificant Accident, that Piero held private Intelligence with Ferdinando; of which he was much more convinced by what enfued.

FRANCESCHETTO CIBO of Genoa, a natural Son of Innocent the 8th, was in Possession of Anguillara, Cervetri, and some other small Castles in the Neighbourhood of Rome. After the Death of his Father, he went to live in Florence, under the Protection of Piero de' Medici,

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A. D. Medici, whose Sister, Maddalena, he had married. He was no sooner arrived, than Piero persuaded him to sell those Castles

Virginio to his Friend Virginio Orsini for Forty Orsini the Thousand Ducats. Ferdinando was at first Cause of the Di the Bottom of this Affair, and secretly surbances lent the best Part of the Purchase-Money; in Italy.

not doubting but it would turn to his Advantage to have Virginio Orfini, who was an Officer in his Army, and also his Relation, Master of such strong Places near Rome. For he ever confidered the Power of the Pontiffs as a very likely Instrument to disturb the Quiet of his Kingdom, which was an antient Fief of the Roman Church, and extends itself for a great Number of Miles along the Borders of the Ecclefiastical State. He remembered the Troubles they had occasioned both to his Father and himself; and being sensible of the Disputes too apt to arise on account of Limits, Tributes, Collation of Benefices, Appeals of his Barons, befides other Cavils common to all neighbouring Princes, especally between a Vassal and the Lord of the Fief, he always made it a principal Point to keep under his Power

and Influence all, or, at least, the chief of A. D. the Roman Barons, and more so now, 1492. that he imagined Lodovico Sforza had too great an Ascendant over the Pope's Counfels, by means of his Brother, Cardinal Ascanio. Some thought he was apprehenfive that the Ambition and Hatred of Pope Calixtus the 3d, who was Alexander's Uncle, might be hereditary. Calixtus, out of an immoderate Defire of aggrandizing his Nephew Piero Borgia, intended, after the Decease of Alfonso, Father to this Ferdinando, to have fent an Army to disposses him of his Kingdom, which he pretended was reverted to the Church: And he would have executed this Scheme, had he not been prevented by Death; ungratefully forgetting, as Men are but too often unmindful of Benefits, that it was through Alfonso, in whose Kingdom of Aragon he was born, and whom he had long ferved as his Minister, that he had been invested with so many Ecclesiastical Benefices, and chiefly through his Interest had been created Pope.

CERTAIN

A. D. 1492.

CERTAIN it is, that great Men do not always discern and determine right; the Weakness of human Understanding will fometimes betray itself by Signs. dinando, though reputed a Prince of great Prudence, did not sufficiently consider the Consequence of this Purchase, which could be to him of little Benefit, in Comparison of the great Mischiess it might produce, by provoking those to enter on new Schemes, whose principal Business and Interest it was to preserve Peace and Tranquillity. The Pope, enraged at this Encroachment on the Pontifical Authority, pretended, that these Castles by their Alienation without his Knowledge, according to the Ecclefiastical Law, devolved to the Apostolic See. Then, publishing to the World the Purposes for which they were bought, he filled all Italy with his Complaints against Ferdinando, Piero, and Virginio; protesting at the same time he would, to the utmost of his Power, preferve the Dignity and Rights of the Holy See.

Lodovico

149Z.

L'odovico Sforza, who was ever jealous of Ferdinando's Actions, and had vainly perfuaded himself, that Alexander might be directed by his and Ascanio's Counsels, considered the Diminution of the Pope's Grandeur as his own: But what gave him the most Uneafiness, was the convincing Proof he now had of the Friendship and strict Union between Piero and Ferdinando. To obviate the dangerous Confequences, and to ingratiate himself with his Holiness, he incited him by all he could fuggest to preserve his own Dignity, putting him in mind that he ought not fo much to regard what was transacting at present, as to reflect how highly it affectded his Honour that the Majesty of that eminent Degree to which he was exalted should be so openly despised by his own Vassals in the very first Days of his Pontisicate. That it was not to be supposed that the covetous Devise of Virginio, the Importance of the Castles, or any other like Reason, had induced Ferdinando to this Step, but only his Inclination to try the Patience

A. D. Patience and Spirit of his Holiness by Injuries which at the first View appeared but fmall, but if tamely fuffered, would encourage him to attempt every Day still greater Provocations. That the prefent King had the fame Ambition as his Predecessors, who were ever Enemies to the Roman Church, had often carried their Armies against the Popes, and more than once seized on Rome. Had not the same Ferdinando twice fent his Son, at the Head of his Troops, to the Gates of that City? Had he not been almost continually in Enmity with the Popes? And what incited him at prefent against his Holiness in particular, was not only the Example of the other Kings, not only his natural Ambition of Dominion, but also a Desire of Revenge for the Injuries he had received from his Uncle Pope Calixtus. He begged of him to give ferious Attention to what he faid, and not to put up with the first Affront, unless he could fit down content with his pompous Titles and external Marks of Veneration; for by tamely fubmitting, he would incur the universal Scorn of Mankind, and give Encourage-

ment

ment to farther Encroachments, and more A. D. dangerous Plots: Whereas, if he exerted himself on this Occasion, he would establish his Reputation, and preserve the Majesty. Grandeur, and Veneration due to the Roman Pontiff. To Persuasions he added what was still more efficacious, for he inflantly lent him Forty Thousand Ducats. and provided Three Hundred Men at Arms, to be maintained between them, but to be disposed of as his Holiness should think proper. To avoid, however, embroiling himself in new Troubles, he sollicited Ferdinando to dispose Virginio to find out some fair Means for appealing the Pope, hinting to him the fatal Consequences which would ensue from so inconfiderable a Beginning. But with more Freedom and Earnestness he admonished Piero de' Medici, reminding him how often Lorenzo his Father, equally a Friend to himself and Ferdinando, had impartially composed their Disputes; whereby he greatly contributed to the Preservation of the Peace and Tranquillity of Italy. He therefore intreated him to imitate his illustrious Parent, rather than, by entering

into

A. D. into new Schemes, give Occasion to, nay urge some Potentate to pursue Measures prejudicial to the general Good. He represented to him how greatly the long Friendship between the Houses of Sforza and Medici had contributed to their mutual Prosperity and Reputation, and laid before him the Injuries his Father, his Ancestors, and the Republic of Florence had fustained from the Aragonians; and how often Ferdinando, and Alfonso before him, had both by Fraud and Arms attempted to make themselves Masters of Tuscany. These Remonstrances did more Harm than Good. For Ferdinando thought it beneath him to yield to Lodovico and Ascanio, from whose Instigations he persuaded himself that the Indignation of the Pope proceeded, and being pressed also by his Son Alfonso, he fecretly perfuaded Virginio to take Poffession of the Castles, without Delay, by Virtue of his Contract, promifing to fupport him against any Opposition. But, with his usual Artifice, he proposed to the Pope several Plans for an Accommodation; and at the same time privately counseled Virginio to agree on no other Terms than keeping

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keeping Possession of the Castles on satis- A. D. fying his Holiness with a Sum of Money. Hence Virginio taking Courage, feveral times refused those Conditions, which Ferdinando himself, not to incense the Pope too far, earnestly pressed him to accept.

Lopovico, finding all his Endeavours to detach Piero from Ferdinando's Interest frustrated, and that thro' his Obstinacy he was likely to be deprived of the Friendship of the Republic of Florence, which had ever been his chief Dependance, alarmed at the imminent Danger, thought it high Time to confult his Safety. He was fatisfied the Aragonians eagerly defired to remove him from the Government of his Nephew; for tho' Ferdinando, Master in the Art of Simulation and Diffimulation\*, kept himself on the Reserve, Alfonso, a Man of a very frank and open Temper, still freshly exclaimed at the Oppression of his Son-in-law; and uttered, with Vol. L. more

<sup>\*</sup> Simulation, for instance, is when a wicked Man puts on a Mask of Goodness, and Dissimulation when an Enemy conceals his Hatred within his Break.

A. D. more Passion than Prudence, several injurious Words with Menaces. He was also informed how Isabella, the Wife of Giovanni Galeazzo, a Woman of a masculine Spirit, was ever folliciting her Father and Grandfather, that, if they were not to be moved by the Shame of the Indignity offered to her Husband and herself, they would take some Concern at least for their Lives, of which they and their Children stood in Danger \*. But what most affected Lodovico, was the Temper of his People, who were not only exasperated at the unufual Taxes he had raifed, but detefted him for his Treatment of Giovanni Galeazzo, their rightful Lord. And tho' he laboured to render the Aragonians suspected to the People of Milan of a Defign to make themselves Masters of that Dutchy, as belonging to them of antient Right by the Will of Filippo Maria Visconti, who bequeathed it to Alfonso Father of Ferdinando, and that, to facilitate this Defign, they endeavoured to remove him from

<sup>\*</sup> In Giovio, and Corio, a Letter to this Purpose from Isabella to her Father and Grandsather is to be seen at length.

from the Government; yet he found this A. D. Artifice not sufficient to moderate the general Hatred, but that it rather confirmed the Public in the Opinion, that the detestable Ambition of Government is capable of leading Men to the Commission of all Kinds of Wickedness. Wherefore after he had for some time revolved in his Mind the present State of Affairs, and the dangerous Situation he was in, he directed all his Endeavours to provide himself with new Supports and Alliances, which he thought might be eafily effected: For knowing that the Pope was provoked against Ferdinando, and that the Venetians were defirous that the Confederacy, which for fo many Years had baffled all their Defigns, should be dissolved, he proposed to both to enter into a League with him for their common Benefit. But Revenge, and every other Passion in Alexander's Breaft, gave way to the immoderate Ambition of feeing his Children exalted. Other Popes, to conceal their Infamy, were wont to term them Nephews; but he took Delight in letting all the World know they were his Children. As at present E 2

A. D. present no readier Way offered to gratify. his high Views for their Preferment, he follicited Ferdinando to give one of the natural Daughters of Alfonso in Marriage to one of his Sons, and for her Portion fome rich Territory in the Kingdom of Naples. 'Till Alexander was excluded from all Hopes of fucceeding in this Match, he gave rather his Ear than his Heart to Lodovico's Offers. But had they been accepted of at that Time, the Peace of Italy would not, perhaps, have been fo foon diffurbed. Ferdinando was not averse to the Match; but Alfonso, abhorring the Pope's Pride and Ambition, would never give his Confent; wherefore, without shewing any Dislike to the Alliance, they raifed Difficulties concerning the Dowry, and so eluded the Pope's Request, at which Alexander was fo provoked, that he resolved at once to engage with Lodovice and the Venetians; being incited thereto by Ambition, Rage, and in some measure by Fear. For not only Virginio, who was very powerful in the Ecclefiaftical State on account of the Protection of the King of Naples and the Florentines, and

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and for his many Followers among the A. D. Guelph Party, but also Prospero and Fabritio Colonna, Heads of that noble Family, were Officers in Ferdinando's Army; and the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola. a Person of great Authority, suspecting the Pope had a Defign against his Life, was retired to Oflia, of which Place he was Bishop, and had declared for Ferdinando, tho' he had been formerly his professed Enemy, and had instigated, first his Uncle Pope Sixtus, and then Innocent against him.

THE Venetians, tho' pleased at these Misunderstandings, were not yet so forward to enter into the new League as was expected, on account of their Distrust of Alexander's Sincerity, which became every Day more and more fuspicious. They also considered how they had been often betrayed by the Popes Sixtus and Innocent, his immediate Predecessors. From the last they had suffered many Inconveniences, without reaping any Benefit; and Sixtus, in the greatest Heat of the War against the Duke of Ferrara, E 3 which

A. D. which he himself had pressed them to 1492. undertake, changing his Mind, employed not only his spiritual but also his temporal Arms, in conjunction with the rest of the Italians, against them. Yet the Sollicitations of Lodovico, who had been indefatigable in treating with the particular Members, prevailed at length on the Senate; and in April 1493, a new Con-League federacy was formed between the Pope, between the Pope, the Venetians, and Giovanni Galeazzo, and the Duke of Milan (whose Name was made Venetians. use of in all public Transactions) for the common Safety, and particularly for the Support of Lodovico in the Government, It was stipulated that the Venetians and the Duke of Milan should each of them fend immediately Two Hundred Men at Arms to protect the Ecclefiaftical State, and to affift him with these, or if needful with greater Forces, to disposses Virginio of the Castles \*.

THESE Proceedings greatly alarmed all

<sup>\*</sup> The Armies in those Days consisted of three different Corps, Men in heavy Armour on Horseback, Light Horse, and Infantry.

all Italy, especially as the Duke of Milan A. D. had abandoned a League which for Twelve Years had been the Pledge of its Security. For in that Confederacy it had been expresly stipulated, that no one of the Confederates should enter into any new Alliance without the Approbation of all the contracting Parties; wherefore that Union being now dissolved, in which consisted the Safety of the Whole, and the Minds of Princes sull of Suspicions and Resentment, who could not but foresee, that, to the universal Detriment, Fruits must grow up conformable to these Seeds?

As foon as Alfonso Duke of Calabria, and Piero de' Medici were apprised of this Alliance, they judged it the best Way to be before-hand, and therefore willingly hearkened to Prospero and Fabritio Colonna; who, at the secret Instigation of the Bishop of Ostia, offered to seize on Rome by Surprise, with the Help of the Gbibelline Faction, and their own Men, provided the Orsini would assist them, and the Duke of Calabria could be, at the same time, within three Days March of that E 4

A. D. City. But Ferdinando, now become more willing to pacify the Pope, by correcting his former precipitate Measures, than to provoke his farther Rage, would by no means agree to a Scheme that must produce greater Evils; and refolved, in good Earnest, to try how to compromise the Affair of the Castles; being persuaded that, when this Obstacle was removed, Matters would eafily return into the fame peaceable Channel. But by removing the Causes, the Effects that sprung from them are not always removed. For, as it frequently happens that Refolutions taken out of Fear seldom appear sufficient to the Fearful, thus Lodovico imagined he had not applyed Remedy enough to his Danger, and began to reflect, that the Pope's Interest and that of the Venetians being different from his, he could not rely on them for any Length of Time, and might therefore be brought into great Streights. The Fear of this induced him to attempt a Cure of the present Malady at all Events, without confidering how dangerous it is to give a stronger Dose than the Nature of the Disease, or the Constitution

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as if plunging into greater Difficulties could only free him from the first, since he could not rely on his own Forces, or his Friendship with the *Italians*, he refolved on inviting *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, to which he laid Claim from the antient Rights of the House of *Anjou*.

THE Kingdom of Naples, in the Bulls Claim of and Investitures of the Roman Churchthe French improperly called Sicily on this Side the Kingdom Faro, is a most antient Fief of the Church, of Naples. It was unjustly seized by Manfredi, a natural Son of the Emperor Frederic the Second, and was by Urban the Fourth, with Sicily, given in Fief, under the Name of the Two Sicilies (one on this Side, the other on the other Side the Faro) in the Year 1264, to Charles Count of Provence and Anjou, Brother to that Lewis King of France, who, famous for his Exploits, but more fo for his Piety, deferved to be inrolled amongst the Saints. This Charles by Force of Arms got Poffession of those Dominions, the Title of which

A. D. which had been conferred on him by the Authority of the Church, and left it to his Son Charles the Second. To him succeeded Roberto, and to him, who left no male Issue, Giovanna, Daughter to Charles Duke of Calabria, who died before his Father. Giovanna, for her Weakness, and dissolute Course of Life, was very much despised; and the Descendants of Charles the First by Charles the Second (who left feveral Children) endeavoured to dethrone her. The Queen, to procure Affistance, adopted for her Son Lewis Duke of Anjou, Brother to that King Charles, whom the French thought proper to distinguish by the Name of Sage, for gaining many Battles without running much Rifque. This Lewis marched into Italy with a powerful Army, where he found Giovanna taken off by a violent Death, and Charles, called Durazzo, a Descendant of the first Charles, placed on the Throne. Lewis was very fuccessful, but in the Midst of his Victories died of a Fever in Puglia: So the Family of Anjou, by the afcrefaid Adoption, got only Provence, which till then had been possessed

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possessed by the Kings of Naples, De- A. D. fcendants of the first Charles. From this 1492. Adoption arose the Claim of the Dukes of Anjou to the Kingdom of Naples. And the Popes, whenever they had any Quarrel with the Neapolitan Kings, invited the Anjouins to invade their Dominions; which was often done, but without

Success.

To Charles Durazzo succeeded his Son Ladiflao, who dying without Iffue in 1414, the Crown came to his Sister Giovanna the Second, a Name inauspicious to that Kingdom as well as to both thefe Queens: For she, likewise, giving herfelf up to Lasciviousness, put the Reins of Government into the Hands of those the intrusted with her Person. This Deportment gave Pope Martin the Fifth an Opportunity of fending for Lewis the Third, Count of Provence, to invade her Dominions: But she extricated herself at that Time from all Difficulties, by adopting Alfonso King of Aragon and Sicily, with whom, nevertheless, she afterwards quarrelled, and cancelled her Deed upon. the

A. D. the Pretext of his Ingratitude. And then calling to her Aid and adopting the fame Lewis, who by War had constrained her to make the first Adoption, she got the better of Alfonso, expelled him her Kingdom, and reigned peaceably the Remainder of her Days. Dying without Issue the left her Dominions by Will, as was reported, to René, Duke of Anjou, and Count of Provence, Brother of the adopted Lewis, who died within a Year of his Adoption. But many of the Barons being diffatisfied with the Succession of Rene, and spreading a Report that the Will was forged by the Neapolitans, a confiderable Party of the Barons and People recalled Alfonfo. This produced the bloody Wars between René and Alfonso, that for fo many Years tore to Pieces fo noble a Kingdom, which alone, in a manner, supported all the Expences. Hence, from contrary Inclinations, arose the Aragonian and Anjouin Factions, not to this Day wholly extinguished; their Claims and Pretentions still varying in Process of Time as the Popes, influenced more by Ambition or by the Necessity of the

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the Times than by Justice, granted In- A. D. vestitures.

ALFONSO fought feveral Battles with René, and being more powerful, as well as a better Soldier, came off always victorious. Dying without legitimate Issue, he left the Kingdom of Naples, as an Acquisition of his own, and not belonging to the Kingdom of Aragon, to this Ferdinando, his natural Son, without mentioning his Brother Giovanni who fucceeded him in the Kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily. Giovanni, René's Son, with the Affistance of the principal Barons, gave Ferdinando a great deal of Trouble at the Beginning of his Reign: But at last by his Valour and good Fortune he defeated them, and had nothing more to fear during the Life of Rene, who survived his Son feveral Years. René died without Issue male, but by Will made Charles, his Brother's Son, his Heir; who likewise having no Issue bequeath'd all his Dominions to Lewis the Eleventh, King of France. And tho' the Duke of Lorrain, Son of a Daughter of René, laid claim to

his

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France.

his Grandfather's Patrimony, Lewis took immediate Possession of Provence: As for his Right to Anjou it was not disputed, being a Fief of France not inheritable by Females. The Pretentions of the Anjouins to the Kingdom of Naples, by this Will, devolved to Lewis, whose Son, Charles the Eighth, was a very powerful Adversary to Ferdinando; as indeed any King in his Situation had it in his Power to prove, for the Kingdon of France had never been in a more flourishing Condition fince the the King-Time of Charles the Great, for the Number of its Inhabitants, the Glory and Power of its Arms, its Riches and Authority, its Dominions being lately extended in all the three Parts into which the Antients divided Gaul \*. Forty Years before, Charles the Seventh, after many and dangerous Battles, had added to his Sovereignty Normandy and Guyenne, which had been possessed by the English: Lewis the Eleventh, in his latter Years, was in Possession of Provence, Burgundy, and almost all Picardy; and Charles the Eighth, by Marriage, became Master of Britany.

<sup>\*</sup> This antient Division of Gaul is to be seen in the Beginning of Cafar's Com. Pliny lib. 4. Strabo lib. 4.

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CHARLES wanted no Inclination to attempt the Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples as his Right. A fond Ambition had taken Root in him, by a Kind of natural Instinct from a Child, and was continually cultivated by his favourite Attendants. They flattered his Vanity by fuggesting that he had a fair Opportunity of furpaffing the Glory of his Predeceffors, fince the Acquisition of Naples would facilitate the Conquest of the Turkish Empire. Charles's Designs being no longer a Secret, Lodovico Sforza thought it an easy Matter to persuade him to what he was already inclined. He placed also no small Confidence in the Interest and Acquaintance which the Family of Sforza had contracted in the Court of France, for both he and his Brother before him had by many Demonstrations of Affection, and repeated kind Offices, continued a Friendship, begun in Francesco their Father's Time, who thirty Years before having received from Lewis the Eleventh, who always abhorred meddling with the Affairs of Italy, the City of Savona in Fief, A. D. Fief, together with all his Pretentions on Genoa, formerly in subjection to his Father, never failed to support that Prince with his Counsel and Affistance in all his Dangers. Lodovico, to render his Sollicitations of greater Weight, and thinking it too dangerous to be fingular in kindling fo great a Combustion, applied to the Pope with Arguments proper to gratify both his Ambition and Refentment, endeavouring to convince him, that neither the Friendship, nor Arms of any of the Italian Powers, would enable him to revenge himself on Ferdinando, or procure Preferments for his Children. Alexander embraced the Scheme, from a natural Love of Novelty, or to frighten the Aragonians into what he could not obtain by fair Means: On which he concerted Measures with Lodovico, and they very fecretly dispatched Agents to found the Inclinations of the King of France and his Privy Council. And flattering themselves they would not be averse to the Proposals, Lodovico was wholly bent to execute his Defign, and fent to the French Court publicly, tho' under another Pretence, Charles

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Charles Barbiano, Count of Belgioiofa, who, A. D. after many private Conferences with the 1493.

King and his Ministers, was introduced in The Pope and Lodoto the Council, where, in the Presence of a vico folligreat many Prelates, Nobles, and Peers of the 8th to the Realm, he addressed the King, as we come into are told, in the following Manner. \*

LODOVICO SFORZA makes a Tender to Count Belyour most Christian Majesty of his Trea-Speechbefure and Forces, to affift you in the Acqui-fore the fition of the Kingdom of Naples. And if King of France in any one should, for particular Reasons, suf-Council. pect his Faith and Sincerity in this Propofal, I am perfuaded that Perfon will renounce his ill-grounded Suspicion, and intirely change his Opinion, when he comes to reflect, with the least Attention, on the antient and perpetual Obligations which Lodovico himself, his Brother Galeazzo, and their Father Francesco, first lay under to Lewis the Eleventh your Father of most glorious Memory, and afterwards to your Majesty. And much greater Cause will such a Person have for his Change of Sentiments,

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<sup>\*</sup> This Speech much resembles a Letter writ in Latin by Lodowico Sforza to the King: Which Letter is to be en in Corio.

A. D. if he confiders, that from this Enterprize many Disadvantages may arise, and but little Hopes of any Profit can possibly refult to Lodovico: Whilft the Fruits of Victory to your Majesty will be a vast Increase of Glory, the additional Dominion of a fine Kingdom, and an aufpicious Opportunity for the unbounded Extent of your Fame and Empire. A just Revenge for the Plots and Injuries suffered from the Aragonians is all that Lodovico can propose to himself. If, on the other Hand, this Attempt, however promifing, should not fucceed, your Majesty's Greatness would nevertheless remain undiminished. But in fuch a Case, every one knows that Lodovico, hated by many, and defpis'd by all, for fuch a Miscarriage, could find no Remedy to the Dangers which must ensue. What Room then can there be for fuspecting the Counsel of a Prince, whose Circumstances, whatever be the Event, are fo unequal and disadvantageous with regard to those of your Majesty? The Motives that induce you to fo glorious an Expedition are fo evident of themselves, that they admit of no Doubt. The Justice of the Caufe.

Cause, the Facility of the Conquest, and A. D. the vast Fruits of the Victory, which are all the Arguments that are principally to be confidered, concur in a most ample Manner. It is well known to all the World that the lawful Title is, for feveral good Reasons, folely vested in the House of Anjou, of which your Majesty is the legitimate Heir: And the Succession is justly claimed by the French Monarchs, as Descendants from Charles, who first of the Blood Royal of France obtained that Kingdom by the Authority of the Roman Pontiffs, and by his own Valour. And the Conquest is as eafy as it is just: For who knows not how inferior in Forces and Authority the King of Naples is to the first and most powerful King in Christendom? How great and formidable is the Name of the French all over the World! And what a Terror are your Arms to all Nations! The petty Dukes of Anjou never attacked the Kingdom of Naples without putting it in very great Danger. It is still fresh in Memory, that Giovanni, Son of René, had in his Hands the Victory against this Ferdinando, when it was wrested from him by Pope F 2 Pius

A. D. Pius with the more powerful Assistance of Francesco Sforza, who, as every one knows, acted in that Affair by the Direction of your Royal Father. What then may not be performed by the Arms and Authority of fo mightya King, who has, befides, greater Opportunities, and leffer Difficulties than attended René and Giovanni? For those Princes, who then obstructed the Victory, can with the greatest Easeannoy the King of Naples: The Pope by Land, on account of the Neighbourhood of the ecclefiaftic State, and the Duke of Milan, from the Conveniency of Genoa, by Sea. Neither will you have any Opposition from the rest of the Italians: For the Venetians will not expose themfelves to Dangers and Expences, nor deprive themselves of the Friendship they have for a long Time cultivated with the Kings of France, for the Sake of preserving Ferdinando the most bitter Enemy of their Greatness. Nor is it credible that the Florentines will depart from their natural Attachment to your Family: And were they inclined to it, of what Confequence would that Opposition be to fogreat a Power? How often has that warlike Nation

of the French, in Spite of all Italy, passed A. the Alps, and as often, with inestimable Glory and Felicity, returned with Victory and Triumph! And when was the Kingdom of France fo glorious, fo happy, fo powerful, and in fo calm and fetled a State of Peace with all its Neighbours, as at prefent? Had the Times been thus propitious in your Father's Days, he would, without Doubt, have undertaken this Expedition. Nor are the Difficulties which your Enemies have to struggle with less increase than your Advantages over them. The Anjouin Party is still powerful in that Kingdom. Great Dependance is to be laid on the many Princes and Nobles unjustly banished of late Years. Besides, so provoking have been the Injuries that Ferdinando has, on all Occasions, offered to the Barons and People, and even to those of the Aragonian Faction; so great has been his Faithlessness, fo infatiable his Avarice, and the Examples of Cruelty of him and his eldest Son Alfonso so horrible and notorious, that no one doubts but the whole Kingdom, moved by an implacable Hatred against them, and the never-fading Memory of the Liberality, Sin-F 3 cerity,

A. D. ty, Humanity, and Justice of the Kings of France, would, with infinite Alacrity, rife in Arms at the News of your Coming. The Resolution then itself is sufficient to make you victorious, and no fooner shall your Troops have passed the Alps, and the Fleet be got together in the Port of Genoa, but Ferdinando and his Children, terrified with the Consciousness of their own Wickedness, will think more of the Means to escape, than how to defend them-Thus with all defirable Ease and Success you will recover to your Family a Kingdom, tho' not to be compared, in Greatness, to France, yet a Kingdom extenfive and rich, and much the more to be valved for the infinite Profits and Advantages that from thence will redound to your Country. Those I could enumerate, were it not known that the French Generofity proposes to itself higher Ends, and that the more worthy and exalted Conceptions of fo glorious and magnanimous a King are directed, not to his own Interest, but to the Good of the whole Christian World, And what fairer Occasion, what Opportunity more inviting can there be for this Purpose, what

what Situation can be more commodious, or better chosen for making War upon the Enemies of our Religion? Every one knows that in some Places the Sea is but feventy Miles wide between the Kingdom of Naples and Greece; the latter a Country oppressed and torn to Pieces by the Turks, and longing for nothing more than to fee the Christian Banners displayed. How easy will it then be to penetrate into the very Bowels of the Turkish Empire, and to take even Constantinople, the Seat and Head of that Monarchy! And to whom can it more properly belong, than to yourself, most potent King, to apply your Mind and Thoughts on fo holy an Enterprize? Of whom is it more requested than of you, to whom God has given wonderful Strength and Power, who have the Title of most Christian, and have before you the Examples of your glorious Predecessors, who have often marched Armies out of this Kingdom, fometimes to deliver the Church of God, oppressed by Tyrants, sometimes to invade the Infidels, and to recover the most holy Sepulchre of Christ, by which they have exalted the Name and Majesty of the Kings F 4

A. D. Kings of France, to the highest Degree of Renown. By fuch Counfels and Means, with fuch Actions and Ends, did that most heroic Charles obtain the Title of Great, and became Emperor of Rome; and as you bear his Name, fo now an Opportunity offers of bearing his Sirname and Glory. But why do I lose Time with these Arguments? as if it were not more convenient, and more according to the Order of Nature, to regard Prefervation before Acquisition? How must it stain your Character, with all these Advantages, to suffer any longer Ferdinando to enjoy fuch a Kingdom, possessed by Kings of your Blood in a constant Succession of near Two Hundred Years, and rightfully and manifestly belonging to yourself! Who knows not how much it concerns your Dignity to recover it, and how holy an Undertaking it would be to free those People, who are your natural Subjects, and adore your Name, from the excessive Tyranny of the Catalans? This Undertaking then is most just, easy, necessary, and no less glorious and facred; especially, as it paves a Way to a Project worthy of a most Christian King

King of France. Nothing is more evident A. D. than that your Honour and Dignity are high- 1493. ly concerned in the Recovery of your Right; and that it will be an Act of Piety to deliver those People who are your natural Subjects, and adore your glorious Name. Be affured then, Omost magnanimous King! that not only Men, but God himself has openly called you to this Expedition, by prefenting you with the furest Prospect of compleat Success, from such great and manifestOpportunities at the Beginning. And what greater Happiness can any Prince enjoy than to find those Resolutions which tend to his own Glory and Greatness, accompanied with fuch Circumstances and Consequences, as make it evident that they are not only conducive to the public Benefit and Safety, but much more to the Promotion and Exaltation of the whole Christian Commonwealth?

This Proposition of Lodovico met with no ready and chearful Reception from the to an Itagreat Men of France, especially from those lian Expedition. of the greatest Authority for their Nobility and the Opinion of their Prudence. The

War

A. D. War now proposed would, according to their Sentiments, be attended with many Difficulties and Dangers not to be avoided in conducting Armies into foreign Countries at a great Distance from France, and against Enemies esteemed very powerful. For Ferdinando was every where celebrated for his confummate Prudence; and his Son Alfonso was in no less Reputation for his Valour, and Skill in the military Art: And as the former had oppressed, in the Course of Thirty Years Reign, a great Number of Barons, it was thought he had accumulated immense Treasures. They confidered that the King was not capable himself of conducting so important an Enterprise, and that those in whom he confided were but weak in Counsel, and unexperienced in the Management of Affairs both civil and military. To this they added the Want of Money, large Sums whereof would be necessary to carry so great a Project into Execution; and the difingenuous Artifices of the Italians to allure the King; For nobody could believe that any of them, especially Lodovico, noted above all the rest for breaking his Faith, would

would endure to fee the Kingdom of A. D. Naples in the Power of France. Therefore they judged it difficult to make that Conquest, and much more so to preserve it. They confidered how the King's Father, a Prince, who always regulated his Conduct by the Reality, not by the Appearance of Things, never would hearken to any Proposals concerning the Affairs of Italy, nor regard the Right to the Kingdom of Naples devolved on him, but constantly afferted, that to fend Armies beyond the Alps, was only purchasing Troubles and Perils at the Cost of immense Treafures and French Blood. That it was first necessary to adjust Differences with the neighbouring Princes; for, besides sundry Occasions for Quarrels and Jealousies that subfisted with Ferdinando, King of Spain, many Injuries between France, and Maximilian King of the Romans, and Philip his Son, Arch-duke of Austria, required Reparation, and could not be compromised without yielding to something very detrimental to the Crown of France; and their Emulation was fuch, that even then their Reconciliation would be more in Shew than

A. D. than in Sincerity; for what Conventions, though never fo strong, could be able to infure us that, if our Army meets with any Accident in Italy, they will not iuvade the Kingdom of Franco? Nor was it to be expected that Henry the Seventh, King of England, would be less biaffed by the natural Aversion of the English towards the French, than by the Peace concluded a few Months fince; fince it was manifest that he came into it, rather because the King of the Romans had not complied with those Engagements that encouraged him to lay Siege to Boulogne, than for any other Reason.

7ames Graville and others against dition.

THESE and fuch like Objections were raised amongst the Great Men, and debated fometimes among themselves, and somethe Expertimes before the King, to disfuade an Italian War; but above all James Graville, Admiral of France, who, though less regarded than formerly at Court, had yet by his established Reputation for Wisdom preserved his Authority with the People, with fingular Vehemence opposed this Undeartking. But Charles, who was but Twenty-two Years

old,

1493:

old, and by Nature of little Understand- A. D. ing in human Actions, being inflamed with a Thirst of Conquest and Glory, founded rather on Levity and fudden Impulse, than Maturity of Counfel, greedily listened to the Proposal, and would not hearken to the wholesome Advice of his prudent Ministers. Induced either by his own Inclination, or by his Father's Example and Precepts, he reposed but little Trust in the Great Men of the Kingdom, but, as foon as he came out of the Tuition of his Sister Anne, the Dutchess of Bourbon, he would no longer hearken to the Counfels of the Admiral, and of others who had the principal Management in that Administration, but committed his Affairs to the Direction of some Persons of mean Condition, and almost all of them trained up in the Service of his Person; Part of whom, as the Counsels of Princes are often venal, were gained by Lodovico's Minister, who was assiduous in corrupting them, fome with costly Presents, some with Hopes of great Estates in the newconquered Country, and others with Expectations of Ecclefiastical Preferments:

All

A. D. All of these unanimously encouraged their Prince to follow his Inclinations. At the Head of these was Stephen Vers, a Man Vers, and of mean Extraction in Languedoc, edu-Stephen the Bishop cated with him in the Palace, and created of St. Ma-lo, chief by him Seneschal of Beaucaire: This Man Counfelwas supported by William Brissonette, who lors. was first from a Merchant made General of France, and afterwards Bishop of St. Malo. He was not only put at the Head of the Administration of the Royal Revenues, in France called the Finances, but through Stephen's Interest was consulted in Affairs of the greatest Importance, tho' very little versed in Matters of State. These were affisted by the Sollicitations of Antonello of San Severino, Prince of Salerno, and Bernardino, of the same Family, Prince of Bifignano, with feveral other outlawed Barons of the Kingdom of Naples, who had refided feveral Years in France, and had been continually folliciting Charles to this Enterprise, by laying before the Ministry the extreme Dissaffection, or rather Desperation of the Neapolitans in general, and the numerous Dependants and Followers which they promised themselves in that Kingdom. SOME

1493.

SOME Days passed in Suspense before the final Resolution was taken. Not only A Treaty between the Ministry were dubious, but Charles Lodovice alfo, the stimulated by a Defire of Glory & Charles the VIII. and Empire, yet, restrained by Fear, was fometimes irrefolute, fometimes inclined to take a Refolution contrary to what he had before determined. After some Struggle, however, his Inclination, and the unhappy Fate of Italy prevailed: When deaf to all pacific Counfels, and unknown to any one, except Beaucaire, and the Bishop of St. Maló, he figned a Convention with Lodovico's Ambassador; but the Conditions were kept very fecret for feveral Months. The chief Articles were these: That whenever the King should think proper, either to conduct in Person, or send an Army into Italy, for the Conquest of Naples, Lodovice should give him a Passage through his Dominions, and fupply him with Five Hundred Men at Arms, at his own Expence: That he should give him Liberty to equip what Veffels he pleased in the Port of Genoa, and also lend him Two Hundred Thousand Ducats before he left France.

engaged to defend the Dutchy of Milan, and particularly to preferve Lodovico in his Authority, and to keep for that Purpose Two Hundred Lances in Asi, a City belonging to the Duke of Orleans, as long as the War should last: At the same time, or not long after, the King with his own Hand signed a Writing, in which he promised to confer upon Lodovico the Principality of Taranto, as soon as he should be in Possession of the Kingdom of Naples.

It is certainly worth while to consider here the Variety of Times, and of worldly Affairs. Francesco Sforza, Father of Lodovico, a Prince of rare Prudence and Valour, tho' an Enemy to the Aragonians, for the provoking Injuries he had received from Alfonso, this Ferdinando's Father, and an antient Friend of the Anjouins, yet when Giovanni, Son of René, in the Year Fourteen Hundred and Fifty Seven, attacked the Kingdom of Naples, assisted Ferdinando with so much Expedition, that the Victory was chiefly attributed to his Conduct. The only Reason which induced him

him to act in this Manner, was the Dan- A. D. ger he thought the Milanese would be sub-1493. ject to, if a French Prince, whose Dominions were fo near his own, should get Posfession of so powerful a State in Italy. The fame Motive had prevailed, not long before, on Filippo Maria Visconti, to abandon the Anjouins his hitherto Favourites, and fet at Liberty Alfonso his Enemy; who being taken at Gaeta by the Genoese in a Sea-Fight, had been brought, with all the Nobility of his Kingdom, Prisoners to Milan. On the other Hand, Lewis, the Father of Charles, tho' often invited by many, and with the favourablest Opportunities, to affert his Right to the Kingdom of Naples, and earnestly sollicited by the Genoese to come and receive them for his Vassals, as his Father Charles the Seventh had done before, yet had constantly refused to meddle with the affairs of Italy, as a Scheme which would be atttended with great Expence, many Difficulties, and prove, in the End, pernicious to the Kingdom of France \*. VOL. I.

\* Paolo Emilio writes, that when Roberto of San Severino follicited Lewis XI. to come into Italy, Lewis repli-

At present the Opinions of Men are various, though, perhaps, the same Reasons, without any Variation, subfist. Lodovico invites the French to pass the Mountains, without dreading from a powerful King of France, in Possession of the Kingdom of Naples, that Danger which his very warlike Father apprehended from a little Count of Provence: And Charles is eager in carrying a War into Italy, preferring the Rashness of vulgar, unexperienced Ministers, to the Example of his Father, a King of Sagacity and long Experience.

The Duke Certain it is, that Lodovico was, at this ra coun-French.

of Ferra Time, encouraged to invite the French by fels Lodo- his Father-in-Law, Ercole d' Este, Duke of vice to in- Ferrara, who was ardently defirous to recover the Polesme of Rovigo, a Territory contiguous to, and very important for the Safety of Ferrara. The Polefine had een taken from him in a War with the Venetians which lasted Ten Years, and he was perfuaded he could no otherwise compass his Defign, than by involving all Italy in Confusion and Bloodshed. Besides this, it

ed, he had observed that none of his Predecessors had ever been able to preferve the Conquests they had made in that Country.

of

was a common Opinion that though Er- A. D. cole professed a great Friendship for his Son-in-Law, he yet owed him, in private, a violent Grudge: For in that War, though all the rest of Italy had declared in his Favour against the Venetians, Sforza, who then governed the Milanese, for his own Ends, obliged the other Potentates, who were much fuperior in Strength, to make a Peace, and in the Articles gave the Polefine to the Venetians; and therefore as Ercole could not avenge himself of so great an Injury with Arms, he determined to do it by giving him pernicious Counsels. when the News of what was in Negocia-ments of tion beyond the Mountains, tho' from un-ans concertain Authority, began to spread over cerning Italy, the Minds of Men were variously a-Expeditigitated. To those who considered the Power on. of France, the warlike Inclination of the People, and the Divisions among the Italians, it appeared of the utmost Confequence. Others, reflecting on the King's Youth, his narrow Capacity, the natural Indolence of the French, and the Difficulties that attend great Enterprizes, were of Opinion, that this being rather the Effect

Maturity of Counsel, though it threatned a Combustion, would vanish into Smoak.

FERDINANDO himself, against whom this Enterprize was levelled, did not feem to be much alarmed: He gave out, that if the French intended to attack him by Sea, they would find his Fleet no ways inferior to theirs, his Ports well fortified, and in his immediate Possession: So that none of his Barons were in a Condition to favour the Landing of an Enemy, as the Prince of Rossano and other Grandees had done, at the Invasion of Giovanni d' Anjou. As for the Expedition by Land, it would create many Jealousies, and was too long and tedious: For an Army must march through all Italy, before it could arrive at his Dominions; and therefore every one had Cause to fear, and perhaps Lodovico more than any other, tho' he might pretend to the Contrary, by endeavouring to shew that the common Danger only concerned others; because the State of Milan, lying fo near France, the King had a fair Opportunity, and perhaps a greater Defire to make

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make himself Master of it. And as the A. D. Duke of Milan was fo nearly related to the King in Blood, how could Lodovico promife himfelf, that his Majesty would not deliver him from his Oppression; particularly, as it was known, that Charles had, some few Years before, declared he would not fuffer his Coufin Giovanni Galeazzo to be fo unworthily abused. Again the Aragonian Affairs were not in fuch a Condition as, by their Weakness, to tempt the King to invade their Dominions. Kingdom of Naples was well provided in many Respects, had a flourishing Body of Troops, abounded in Horses fit for War, was well stored with Ammunition and Artillery, with all Sorts of warlike Provifions, and with Plenty of Money and Means of procuring what more might be required. Besides, the King did not want for experienced Officers to put at the Head of his Armies, and had a Son, the Duke of Calabria, of known Reputation for his Valour and Conduct for many Years together, in all the late Commotions of Italy, He did not also doubt of the Affistance of the King of Spain, who was doubly related

A. D. to him, as being his Cousin, and Brother to his Wife: And he was very certain, that King would never fuffer the French to establish themselves in the Neighbourhood Ferdinan- of Sicily. With this Sort of Reasoning do alarm-Ferdinando thought proper to amuse the ed at the Public, magnifying his own, and dimi-League. nishing his Enemy's Forces, and Opportunities of hurting him. But, as he was a Prince of fingular Prudence, and great Experience, he was inwardly very much affected: He well remembered the Trouble the French had given him in the Beginning of his Reign; and feriously confidered he had to do with a powerful and warlike Nation, and much fuperior to his, in Cavalry, Infantry, Fleets, Artillery, and Treasure: A People, who, for their King's Glory, were ever willing to encounter Danger. On the contrary, his Subjects were jealous of all his Undertakings, and his whole Kingdom, in a manner full of Hatred against the Aragonians, or greatly inclined to his Rebels; the Majority commonly defirous of a Change of Government, and readier to follow the For-

tune of an Invader, than adhere to their

Alle-

Allegiance: \* His Troops were not in the good Condition he had boasted, nor the Money accumulated fufficient for his Defence; and the Tumults, when the War was once commenced, would disable him from raising any further Supplies: He had Enemies in all Parts of Italy, without one fingle true Friend. For what State had not felt the Weight of his Arms, or been cajoled by his Artifices? Nor from Spain, according to the Custom and Condition of that Nation, had he any thing more to expect than ample Promises, and Appearances of vast Preparations, which would end in fmall and retarded Succours. His Fears were increased by several Predictions, prognosticating Calamities to his Family, which came to his Knowledge, at different Times, from old Papers, and from Perfons, who, though ignorant of present Affairs, yet would pretend to foretell what These Things in Prospewas to come. rity are little regarded, but too much in G 4 Adversi-

<sup>\*</sup> Livy, Lib. 1. Dec. 4. The Neapolitans abstain from Rebellion only when they are at a Loss to find a Power that will accept of their Allegiance.

A. D. Adversity. + Disturbed by so many Re1493. slections, and the Danger appearing withMeasures out Comparison greater than any rational
taken by
FerdinanHope of Safety, he found he had no other
do for his Remedy, than by some Composition to induce the King of France to lay aside all
Thoughts of invading him, or by removing some of the Causes which incited him
to make War.

FEDERIGO, the second Son of Ferdinando, was married to a Sister of King Charles's Mother, by whom he had a Daughter called Carlotta, who was educated at the French Court, where Ferdinando had sent Ambassadors to treat about a Match for his Grand-daughter with the young King of Scotland. Ferdinando took this Opportunity of joining to them Camillo Pandone, who had before been his Agent at Paris, with Instructions to use their best Endeavours, by bribing, privately, the King's Ministers, with Gifts and Promises,

to

<sup>†</sup> It was pretended, that St. Cataldo, above 1000 Years before, had writ a Book of Prophecies concerning the Affairs of Naples; and at this Juncture had appeared to the Sacristan of the Church, where he was buried, and informed him where he might find the old Manuscript.

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

to turn his Mind from the Italian Expe- A. D. dition; and if that Method was not fufficient, they were commissioned to offer his Majesty an annual Tribute, and any other Submission that might procure Peace.

HE next made a diligent Use of all his Authority to compromise the Affair of the Castles with the Pope, laying all the Blame on Virginio's Obstinacy, and revived the Treaty of the Marriage which had been before negotiated. But his chief Design was to pacify and affure himself of Lodovico Sforza, Author and Promoter of all these Evils. He well knew his violent Refolutions had proceeded more from Fear than any Thing else; and, therefore, preferring his own Security to that of his Grand-Child, he took feveral Methods to affure him that he would leave the Decifion of Giov. Galeazzo's Affairs, and his Pretensions to the Dukedom of Milan to himself, without any Regard to the Perfuafions of his Son Alfonso, who, encouraged by Lodovico's natural Pufillanimity, pressed his Father to force him from his new Alliance by Terror and Threats; with-

A. D. without conceiving, that the Timorous are 1493 as often driven into precipitate Counsels by Despair, as the Rash, for want of reflecting on the Dangers they undertake. After many Difficulties raised, more by A Treaty Virginio than the Pope, the Dispute about between the Pope and Ferdi-the Castles was terminated, Don Federigo, who was fent for this Purpose to Rome, bemando. ing present at the Conferences. It was agreed that Virginio should pay over again to Alexander the Sum he had before paid to Franceschetto Cibo for the Purchase of the Castles; and a Match was concluded between Madama Sances, Federigo's natural Daughter, and Don Giuffre, the Pope's

THE Condition were, that Don Giuffre, in a few Months, should go to Naples, and receive in Dowry the Principality of Squillaci, with a yearly Income of Ten Thoufand Ducats, and have the Command of an Hundred Men at Arms in Ferdinando's Army. This confirmed the Public in the Belief that Alexander's particular Reason for sending to treat in France, was to srighten the King

youngest Son, though neither, as yet, of a

proper Age for Wedlock.

King of Naples into his Measures. Ferdinando endeavoured to persuade the Pope to enter into an Alliance with him for the common Defence: But Alexander raised so many Difficulties, that all he was able to obtain, and that with the greatest Secrecy, was a Brief for a defensive Treaty between them two only, for the Protection of each other's Dominions, in Case they should be attacked. As soon as these Articles were signed, the Venetian and Milanese Troops, who came to the Pope's Aid, were dismissed.

have equal Success in treating with Lodovico Sforza, who very artfully soothed the Allies; sometimes making them believe, he never intended to favour the Inclinations of the French, which might prove so dangerous to all Italy: At other Times, he alledged the Necessity he was under, of giving a Hearing to the King's Proposals, on account of the Fief of Genoa, and the antient Confederacies between his Family and that of France: Then sending separately to Ferdinando, the Pope, and Piero

di

A. D. di Medici, he gave each to understand, that he would use all his Interest to mitigate 1493. the King's fiery Temper. In this Manner he thought proper to amuse them, lest they should fall upon him before the French were in Readiness; and he was the more readily believed, as every one thought it impossible he should not at least have confidered his own Rifque in inviting fo potent a King into Italy, and recede from all his Engagements. The whole Summer was spent in these Negociation, which were carried on fo dexteroufly by Lodovico, that Charles took no Sort of Umbrage: whilst Ferdinando, and the Florentines, neither despaired of, nor totally confided in, the Performance of his Promises.

France, with great Sollicitude, a solid Foundation for the Execution of this new Enterprize, on which the King, contrary to the Consent of almost his whole Nobility, A Treaty was every Day more determined: And that Charles he might meet with no Obstacles, he comthe VIII and Ferdi-posed all Differences with Ferdinando and Mando King of Spain.

Princes,

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

Princes, in those Days, of great Reputa- A. D. tion, for their Prudence, and for having 1493. fettled a firm Peace in their Realms, which had before been very turbulent; as also, for having lately, after a Ten Years War, dispossessed the Moors of Africa, of the Kingdom of Granada, which they had possessed for near Eight Centuries, and brought it under the Banner of Christ.

IT was stipulated in this Convention. confolidated with public Oaths in the facred Temples, that neither Ferdinando nor Isabella, in both whose Names Spain was then governed, directly nor indirectly, should give any Aid to the House of Aragon, make any new Affinity with them, or any way whatfoever oppose this Expedition of Charles, who, to obtain these Obligations, began with a certain Loss for the Hopes of uncertain Gain, for he restored, without any Money Perpignan, and all the County of Roussillon, which had been mortgaged long fince to Lewis his Father, by Giovanni, King of Aragon, the Father of Ferdinando. This Concession must disgusted the French Nation:

Many toutensed the welling with bid withat and Isabella by ruling Perfiguen & theo wit of Romanda

### THE HISTORY OF

A. D. that Province being fituated at the Foot of the Pyrenean Mountains was, according to the antient Division, Part of Gaul, and hindered the Spaniards from invading France on that Side.

differenced the Mars of Africa of the FOR the same Reasons, Charles made A Treaty Peace with Maximilian, King of the Robetween mans \*, and his Son Philip, Arch-duke Charles the VIII. and Maxi of Austria, who had several old and new Ocmilian. casions given for their Enmity. These began when Lewis, Charles's Father, took Possession of the Dutchy of Burgundy, the Province of Artois, and many other circumjacent Countries, after the Death of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and Earl of Flanders. For this Seizure was the Occasion of grievous Wars between Lewis and Maria, only Daughter of Charles, who, foon after her Father's Death, married Maximilian, and Philipher Son by him, who, Maria being dead. was lately come into Possession of his Mother's Patrimony. But now, more at the Defire of the Flemings, than by his own In-

\* The Historian calls Maximilian King of the Romans, though he was then Emperor; which Title was never given to the Emperors by the Italians in those Days, till they were crowned by the Pope in Rome.

it waster to and clinations.

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clinations, Maximilian made Peace with A. D. the French: To corroborate which, Margaret, Philip's Sifter, though under Age, was espoused to Charles; but, after she had been kept several Years at the French Court, was repudiated, to make Way for Anne, the only Daughter of Francis Duke of Bretany, and Heiress to that Dutchy. Maximilian, at the same Time, was doubly injured, in his Daughter's Match, and in his own; for he had already espoused Anne by Proxy: But now finding himself unable to carry on the War he had entered into on this Account; that the Regency of Flanders, by whose Counsels and Authority that Country was governed, was determined not to break with France, in their Prince's Minority; and obferving that Spain and England had laid down their Arms, which they had taken up against France, he also agreed to a Peace; in Consequence of which, Charles restored all the Artois, except the Forts, which he also engaged to deliver up at the End of Four Years, when Philip would be of Age to confirm this Agreement. The Reason given for parting with Artois,

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A. D. Artois, was, that at the Peace made with Lewis, it had been on all Sides agreed that Artois should be considered as Margaret's Dowry, who had hitherto been kept in France, but was now fent back to Philip her Brother. Charles having thus secured Peace with all his Neighbours, fixed his Refolution of profecuting his Expedition against Naples in the following Year; and gave Orders in the mean time for providing all Necessaries, to which he was constantly follicited by Lodovico. unable to carry on the War he had entered

Lodovico gives his Niece in to Maximilian.

As the Ambition of Mankind rifes from one Step to another, fo Lodovico, not Marriage satisfied with securing himself in the Government of Milan, now aspired at nothing less than to be created Duke, which he thought might be eafily compassed, if the Aragonians were depressed. To give some Colour of Justice to this premeditated Piece of Iniquity, and more firmly to establish himself, he married his Niece, Bianca Maria, Sister of Giovanni Galeazzo, the present Duke, to Maximilian, who, after the late Death of his Father Frederic, had succeeded him in the Empire, Lodovico

Lodovico agreeing to give her in Portion A. D. Four Hundred Thousand Ducats, at different Payments, and the Value of Forty Thousand more in Jewels, and other Things. Maximilian, on the other Side, pleafed more with the Money than the Alliance, to the Prejudice of his new Brother-in-law, Giov. Galeazzo, engaged to invest Lodovico and his Descendants in the Dukedom of Milan; as if that State had been without a legitimate Duke ever fince the Demise of Filippo Maria Visconti. The new Deed of Investiture was to be drawn in a most ample Form, and signed, on the last Payment of the Dowry.

THE Visconti are a noble Family in the State of Milan, which during the bloody Feuds between the two Factions of the Family. Guelfs and Ghibellins expelled the Guelfs out of Milan; and, as it commonly happens at the End of Civil Wars, from being only Chiefs of a Party in one Quarter of the Town, made themselves Masters of the whole City. Some Years after, according to the Custom of Usurpers, they were defirous of possessing, in a legal JESVOL. I. H Manner.

A. D. Manner, what they had obtained by Force; and with ample Titles making more il-The Sfor- lustrious their Family: Wherefore they found Means of acquiring from the Emperors, who now began to make their Name more than Power known in Italy, first the Title of Captains, then Vicars of the Empire; and at last Giovanni Galeazzo Vifconti, who stiled himself Count Virtu (an Earldom conferred on him by his Fatherin-law, John King of France) obtained from Wincestaus, King of the Romans, the Dignity of Duke of Milan, for himself, and his Heirs Male. His two Sons, Giovanmaria and Filippomaria, one after the other succeeded him: They both died without Iffue; and Filippomaria, by his last Will, left the Dutchy to Alfonso, King of Aragon and Naples, in Confideration of the Friendship contracted with him, at the Time he freed him from his Confinement? And also, because he imagined that the Dutchy, being defended by so powerful a Prince, ran no Risque of falling under the Dominion of the Venetians, who plainly manifested their Design on that State. But Francesco Sfórza, a Man of

great

great Power, and very much esteemed for his Knowledge and Experience in Civil and Military Affairs, by Force of Arms got Possession of the State, which he claimed in Right of his Wife, Bianca Maria, a natural Daughter of the last Duke Filippo Maria. In getting Possession of this Dutchy many Accidents concurred in his Favour; and especially that of having it in his Power to break his Word with those who had joined him, on his Promise of not attempting the Sovereignty. Francesco, for a small Sum of Money (as was reported) might have procured the Investiture from the Emperor Frederic; but being confident he was able to support his Power by the same Means he had acquired it, he despised that Sort of Right: Thus the Dukedom descended to his Son Galeazzo without Investiture, to whom succeeded this Giovanni Galeazzo his Grand-

fon. Lodovico now acting an unnatural Lodovico Part against his living Nephew, and an in-procures for him-jurious one to the Memory of his deceased self the Father and Brother, afferted they had go-Investiture of verned without a Title, and therefore the the Dukedom was revolved to the Empire, and of Milan.

H 2

procuring

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A. D. procuring for himself the Investiture from 1493 Maximilian, stiled himself not Seventh, but Fourth Duke. However, this Transaction was known but to few till the Death of his Nephew. He was wont to fay, in Imitation of Cyrus, the younger Brother of Artaxerxes, King of Perfia, that he preceded Galeazzo his Brother, not in Age, but as being born after his Father was Duke; and found Means to obtain the Opinion of many Civilians in his Favour. This Reason, amongst others, was given in the Imperial Diploma; and, under a ridiculous Notion of palliating Lodovico's Ambition, by way of Clause it was added, That it was not the Custom of the Holy Roman Empire to grant Investitures to any that were in Possession of their Dominions by any other than the Imperial Authority; and that Maximilian had therefore rejected the Petition Lodovico had made for the Investiture in Behalf of his Nephew, because, without any previous Application to him, he had been acknowledged Duke by the People of Milan.

DIOCULLINE

THE

THE King of Naples was in Hopes, that this new Match would produce a Diffension between Charles and Lodovico. imagining it could not be agreeable to the former, that the King of the Romans, his Enemy on fo many Accounts, should be fupplied by the latter with fo large a Sum of Money, and their Interest by this Affinity united. He also expected, that Sforza, on this Alliance, would take Courage, and boldly recede from the Engagement he had entered into with Charles. Lodovico was fagacious enough to encourage that King, and the rest of the Italians, in these Notions, and at the same time maintain his Interest both with the Kings of the Romans of and France. Ferdinando also applied to the Venetians, who, he had Reason to think, were not fond of having their Power eclipsed by the Arrival in Italy of fo potent a King: And the Spanish Sovereigns promised him large Succours, in case their Remonstrances and Authority did not meet with Success in preventing the intended Invasion,

four

Troops

A. D.

1493. THE King of France, on the other hand, that he might remove all Difficulties

Peron de la Basche and Obstacles on this Side the Mountains,

fent to the as he had on the other, fent Peron de la Italian
Potentates Basche, a Person well versed in the Con-

cerns of Italy (where he had formerly been with Giovanni d'Anjou) to notify to the Pope, Venetians and Florentines, his Refolution of passing the Alps, in order to recover the Kingdom of Naples, inviting them to join him. But he received only general Answers; every one refusing, as yet, to declare his Sentiments, as the War was not to be commenced till the Year following. Charles required of the Florentine Ambassadors, who, by Ferdinando's

Charles rentine Ambassadors, who, by Ferdinando's demands Approbation, had been sent to his Court, of the Flo- ato clear their Republic from the Impu-Passage for his tation of being partial to the Aragonians, Troops, that he should be promised a safe Passage

that he should be promised a safe Passage and Provisions for his Army through their Dominions, on their paying for all Necessaries; and that, as a public Token of their Friendship, they should accompany his Troops with an Hundred of their Men at Arms. They remonstrated how dangerous

fuch

fuch an Agreement might prove, before they could be supported by his Army; affirming, he might always be sure of their City, from the natural Propension of the Florentines to his Nation: But the French so ardently insisted on their Compliance, that they were constrained to promise, being threatened otherwise with a Suppression of their Commerce, which at that Time was very considerable in France. It was soon discovered that Lodovico was at the Bottom of these Counsels; and was also the sole Guide and Director of all that concerned the French Interest in Italy.

Piero de Medici endeavoured to get Ferdinando's Consent that his Republic might comply with these Demands; which, he said, in the Main, were insignificant; and that he might find it more to his Interest, that the Republic should be on good Terms with Charles, which might, perhaps, enable them to be his Mediators to bring about some Composition, whereas they could be of no Service to him in being declared Enemies to France. Next, he endeavoured to make him sensible, how

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odious

A. D. odious he should be rendered to his Country, if the Florentine Merchants should be banished France. He added, that for the common Good, which was the chief Ground of all Alliances, it was often neceffary for each Confederate patiently to bear with fome Inconveniencies, to prevent much greater. But Ferdinando being fensible, how much his Reputation would be diminished, and his Safety endangered, in case the Florentines were to separate themselves from his Interest, would, by no means admit of these Reasons; and bitterly complained, that Piero's Steadiness and Faith, on which he had reposed his chief Dependance, should so soon, contrary to all his Expectations, be shaken. Wherefore Piero being determined, above all Things, to preserve the Friendship of the Aragonians, contrived feveral Axcuses to protract the Answer, so instantly required by the French King; and at last let him know, he would fend new Ambaffadors with the final Determination of the Republic.

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

AT the latter end of the Year, the good A. D. Intelligence between the Pope and Ferdi-1493. nando began to decline; either because The Car-Alexander, by raifing Difficulties, expected Piero in to reap greater Advantages; or, in order Vincola retires to to bring under his Obedience the Cardinal Ofia. of San Piero in Vincola. This Cardinal was retired into the Kingdom of Naples, and the Pope infifted on his Return, offering, for a Pledge of his Security, the Faith of the facred College, of Ferdinando, and of the Venetians. His Absence created Alexander a great deal of Uneafinefs. on Account of the important Castles of Ostia, Ronciglione, and Grotta Ferrata, which he held in the Neighbourhood of Rome, anfi befides, he was a Man of great Authority, and had many Adherents in the Roman Court; was by Nature defirous of Novelties, obstinate, and difficult, tho' at the Risque of any Danger, to be diffuaded from any Refolution once taken. Ferdinando took great Pains to excuse himself, by affuring the Pope, that he could not induce the Cardinal to comply; not being able to perfuade him, that any Security was equal to the Danger he apprehended,

A. D. prehended. He then complained of his hard Fate, in being obliged to fustain the Blame of other People's Faults: Thus he had been accused of advancing Money to Virginia for the Purchase of the Castles, tho' they were bought without his Participation, and it had been through his Interest that Virginio had come to a Composition, and he himself had advanced the Money which was paid to his Holiness on that Account. But these Excuses were so far from being admitted by the Pontiff, that he bitterly complained, and almost threatened him with his Resentment: This induced People to believe, that little Stress was to be laid on their late Reconciliation.

In this Disposition of Minds, and Confusion of Affairs, tending to new Commotions, began the Year 1494, (according to the Roman Style:) \* A Year most unfortunate for Italy! and, indeed, the first of many miserable Years: For it opened a Door to innumerable and horrible Calami-

ties;

In Florence, the Author's Country, the Year began on Lady-Day.

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

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fpread, and been fensibly felt, in many Parts of the World.

In the Beginning of this Year, Charles, more than ever averse to any Composition Charles with Ferdinando, ordered the Neapolitan orders the Ambassadors, as the Ministers of an Ene-tan Ammy, immediately to quit the Kingdom of baffadors France. Much about the same Time, France. Ferdinando, oppressed more with Anxiety Ferdinanof Mind than Age, was seized with a Ca-do's Death;) tarrh, which suddenly carried him off. He was a Prince celebrated for his Industry and Prudence; which being accompanied with good Fortune, he preserved himfelf in a Kingdom, not long fince acquired by his Father, in spite of many Difficulties which he met with in the Beginning of his Reign, and advanced it to a higher Pitch of Greatness, than it was known for many Years before, under any of the Kings his Predeceffors. A good King, if he had continued to govern by the same Maxims with which he began: But, in Process of Time, when he found himself firmly established, either changing his Manners.

A, D. Manners, as is usual with almost all Princes who know not how to resist the Impulses of unlimited Authority, rather, according to the universal Opinion, discovering his natural Temper, till then very artfully concealed, he became noted for Breaches of Faith, and such excessive Cruelty, as his own Creatures thought deserving the Name of Barbarity.\*

A Loss to IT was allowed that the Death of Ferthe Cause of Italy. For, besides that he would have attempted any Expedient to prevent the Passage of the French, it was not doubted but that it would be more difficult to induce Lodovico Sforza to place any Considence in the haughty Temper of Alfonso, than to have disposed him to renew his Friendship with Ferdinando, who had been often known, in former Times, readily to condescend to his Will, in order to avoid all Occasions of Contention with the State of Milan. And among the rest we are afforded.

<sup>\*</sup> Ferdinando, the 25th of Jan. 1494, was 70 Years old, and had reigned 35 Years, 6 Months, and 25 Days. Ciovio.

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fured that when Isabella the Daughter of A. D. Alfonso was conducted to her Husband, Lodovico fell in Love with her, and was defirous to obtain her of her Father for himfelf, and, for that Purpose, operated so effectually, as it was then believed throughout all Italy, by Means of Inchantment and Sorcery, as to render Galeazzo, for many Months, incapable of confummating Matrimony. Ferdinando would have confented to his Defire, but Alfonso opposed it; whence Lodovico, excluded from that Hope, married another, by whom he had Sons, and turned his Thoughts on transferring the Dutchy of Milan on himself and his Heirs. Some have also wrote, that Fordinando, who was willing to undergo any Fatigue, and fuffer any Indignity to avert the impending War, was determined, as foon as the Seafon permitted, to go on board his Gallies to Genoa, and from thence by Land to Milan, and there comply with every Thing Lodovico should require, and bring back his Grand-Daughter to Naples, in hopes of mitigating him, not only by his Offers, but also by his publickly acknowledging him for the fole Author of side it, the Kier's Expedition with Mary.

A. D. his Safety, it being well known how ardently Lodovico defired to be thought the
Arbiter and Oracle of Italy.

ALFONSO, at his first Coming to the Alfonso fends Am- Crown, fent four Ambaffadors to the Pope, who had given Intimations of returning to to the Pope. his former Inclination of embracing the Friendship of the French; for at that King's Request, by a Bull figned by the whole College of Cardinals, he had engaged to create the Bishop of St. Malo a Cardinal \*: and, in Concert with Lodovico, taken Profpero Colonna, and other Commanders of Men at Arms, into his Pay. Yet the Offers made by the new King, who, at any Rate, thought it necessary to gain him, and his Protection, were fuch, that Alexander

An Alliance was then publickly conance between the cluded between Alfonso and the Pope, for Pope and the Defence of their respective Dominions; Alsonso. engaging to affist each other with a cer-

could not withstand them.

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<sup>\*</sup> Corio is of Opinion, that the Pope created the Bishop of St. Malo a Cardinal, in hopes of preventing, thro' his Interest, the King's Expedition into Italy.

tain Number of Men. Alexander promis- A. D. ed to give Alfonso the Investiture of his 1494. Kingdom, with the same Diminution of the Tribute, which, by other Popes, had been granted only for Ferdinando's Life; to fend an Apostolic Legate to crown him; and create Lodovico, the Son of Don Henrico, natural Brother of Alfonso, a Cardinal; who was afterwards called the Cardinal of Aragon. The King, on his Part, Alfonso was to pay the Pope immediately Thirty engagesto Thousand Ducats, and provide, in the for the following Manner, for his three Sons: To Children: give Possessions in his Kingdom, to the Value of Twelve Thousand Ducats a Year, to the Duke of Candia, the first of the seven principal Offices that became vacant, and, during his Holiness's Life, a Regiment of Three Hundred Men at Arms, to be employed in the Service of either Party, as Occasion should require: Don Giuffre, as a Pledge of the Pope's Sincerity, should refide at the King's Court; and, besides the Appointments agreed on at the former Convention, should be made Protonotary, which is one of the feven great Employments: And as for Cafar Borgia, whom he had

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be endowed with rich Benefices in his Kingdom. Alexander, in order to qualify Cæsar for the Purple, had, by false Witnesses, proved him to be a legitimate Child of another Gentleman; it not being customary to promote Bastards to that Dignity.

VIRGINIO ORSINI, who was present at this Convention, and had the King's Credentials engaged; that Alfonso should affift his Holiness in recovering the Castle of Oftia, in case the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola should refuse to return to Rome. But the King affirmed that this Promise had been made without his Confent or Knowledge, thinking it might prove highly detrimental in fo dangerous a Juncture to have that Cardinal his Enemy; for he had great Influence in Genoa on which, at the Instigation of that Prelate, he defigned to make an Attempt. Besides, he was, perhaps, afraid of carrying Matters too far, lest the Cardinal should in such turbulent Times enter into Plots about Councils, or other Affairs prejudicial to the Holy See: So he tried all Means to reconcile

reconcile him to the Pope; who would A. D. hearken to nothing, unless he returned to Rome. The Cardinal, on the other fide, The Carwas as obstinately determined not to trust dinal of St. Piero his Life, as he used to express himself, in in Vincola the Hands of Catalans; and therefore ren-retires into dered all the Pains and Defires of Alfonso ineffectual: For, after feigning to come into all that was proposed, he departed fuddenly one Night on board an armed Brigantine from Oftia, which Place he left well garrisoned, and after staying a few Days at Savona, and then at Avignon, where he was Legate, he proceeded to Lyons, whither Charles had transferred his Refidence, in order to make with more Conveniency and the greater Vigour the necessary Preparations for the intended Expedition, which he gave out he would conduct in Person, by whom he was received with great Demonstrations of Joy and Honour, and here he joined all those who were concerting Measures for disturbing the Repose of Italy.

Alfonso, Fear becoming a good Master to him, continued to make Lodo-Vol. I. vice

A. D. vico the same Offers his Father had done. 1494 Sforza, according to his Custom, craftily amused him with vain Hopes; and endeavoured to perfuade him, that he was under a Necessity of acting with the utmost Dexterity and Caution in regard to France, lest the War, designed against others, might begin in his own Dominions. But, on the other hand, he never ceased to follicit the Preparations in France; and, to do it the more effectually, he fent, at the fame time, to the French Court (but, as he pretended, at Charles's Request) Galeazzo da San Severino, a Person he confided in, and a great Favourite of his, having married his Daughter, to fettle better all the Particulars, and fee that what was refolved on might be put in Execution without Delay. By Lodo-Four Am vico's Advice, the King dispatched four

bassadors sent by Charles into Italy.

Ambassadors to the Pope; Everard Aubigni, a Scotch Officer; the General of France; the President of the Parliament of Provence; and Peron de la Basche, the same Person who had been sent thither the Year before. These Ministers pursuant to their Instructions, the principal of which

which were drawn up in Milan, published A. D. in all Places wherever they passed the 1494. Right which the King of France, as Succeffor of the House of Anjou, on the Failure of the Line of Charles the First, claimed to the Kingdom of Naples, and his Refolution to pass the same Year in Person into Italy, not with an Intent to feize on what appertained to others, but purely to obtain what justly belonged to himself, though the ultimate End which he had in View was not fo much the Acquisition of the Kingdom of Naples, as the Opportunity that Conquest would afford him of turning his Arms against the Turks for the Increase and Advancement of the Christian Name \*. At Florence they represented the great Confidence which the King reposed in that City, which had been rebuilt by Charles the Great, and was always favoured by the Kings of France;

\* To this Day the Italians in general exult whenever a Christian Potentate declares War against the Turks: And it is customary for the Emperor and the Venetians to send Ambassadors, on such Occasions, to collect Money from all the Italian Powers. I myself, on the Taking of Belgrade by Charles VI. have seen as great Rejoicings at Florence, as if it had been an Acquisition made by the Great Duke of Tuscany.

A. D. and lately by the present King's Father, Lewis XI. in the unjust Wars raised against TheirPro- the Florentines by Pope Sixtus, Ferdinando, at Florence lately deceased, and his reigning Son Alfonso: They put the People in Mind of the vast Profits which the Florentine Nation made by their mercantile Commerce in the Kingdom of France, where they were favoured and careffed as if they had been Natives, by which Example they might expect to reap the same Profits, and meet with the like kind Treatment in the Kingdom of Naples when the King should be in Possession of it: A Treatment they had never met with from the Aragonians, from whom they had ever suffered Injuries and Losses. They then pressed them to give some Demonstration of their Conjunction with his Majesty in his Enterprise; but if, for any just Reason, they did not think proper to declare themselves, that they would at least agree to give a free Passage through their Territories to the French Army, and furnish them with

Victuals on their paying for them.

# THE WARS IN ITALY.

In this Manner did they treat with the A. D. Republic, but made use of other Arguments with Piero de' Medici. They reminded him of the many Favours and Honours conferred by Lewis XI. on his Father and on his Ancestors: How, in troublesome Times, he had often countenanced them in order to preserve their Grandeur, and in Token of Benevolence, he had permitted them to quarter the Arms of the House of France. That, on the contrary, Ferdinando, not fatisfied with openly attacking them with his Arms, had been also wickedly concerned himself in civil Conspiracies, in which his Uncle Giuliano had been affaffinated, and his Father Lorenzo dangerously wounded.

THE Ambassadors not obtaining a posi-The Pope tive Answer at Florence, proceeded to requested Rome, where laying before his Holiness the French the antient Merits, and constant Devotion of the House of France towards the Apostolic See, which were abundantly attested by antient and modern Records, and, on the contrary, the Contumacy and frequent Acts of Disobedience of the Aragonians,

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A. D. they demanded the Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples for Charles, as his lawful Right, proposing and making many Offers, if he would favour an Expedition, undertaken as much by his Holiness's Authority and Persuasion, as by any other Motive.

'Alexander's Anfwer.

THE Pope's Answer was, That as the Investiture had been given, by so many of his Predecessors, three Times successively to the House of Aragon, (Alfonso being expresly named in that of Ferdinando's) it was not reasonable to grant it to Charles, until it was judicially determined that he had the best Claim, to which the Investiture granted to Alfonso, could be of no manner of Prejudice, because this Clause, without Prejudice to any one's Right, was purposely inserted in the Deed: That the Kingdom of Naples was a direct Dominion of the Holy See; and he hoped the present King would imitate his Ancestors, who were ever the chief Defenders of the Church's Rights, and not affault it with open Violence, as he threatened, but proceed in a legal and judicial Manner, as be-

came

#### THE WARS IN ITALY.

1494.

came the Dignity of his Person: And as A. D. he himself was the Supreme Lord of the Fief, and fole Judge of the Cause, he might depend on making out his Claim to have Justice done him: That this was all a Most Christian King ought to require from a Roman Pontiff, whose Province it was to appeafe and extinguish Animosities, not to foment Wars between Christian Princes. He then expatiated on the Difficulties and Dangers that would attend his joining his-Majesty, by reason of the Vicinity of his Territories to those of Alfonso and the Florentines, as the last would be seconded by all Tuscany, and the Dependance on the King of Naples of fo many Barons was very great, some of whose States extended to the very Gates of Rome. But he artfully dropped Expressions, which might create some Hope, tho' he was in himself fully determined not to quit his Alliance with Alfonso.

AT Florence the Inclination was strong The Florence in Favour of the House of France, on ac-rentines count of the Commerce of fo great a Num-contentber of Florentines in that Kingdom, and ing France

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A. D. from an inveterate, tho' false, Notion that their City had been re uilt by Charlemain, after it had been destroyed by Totila, King of the Goths; for the strict Conjunction of their Guelf Ancestors, for a long Time together, with Charles the First, King of Naples, and with many of his Descendants Protectors of the Guelfs in Italy; and for the Memory of the Wars, which first old Alfonso, and afterwards Ferdinando, in the Year 1478, made with their Republic, when he fent his Son Alfonfo with an Army against them. On these Considerations, the Commonalty of the People were for granting a Passage to the King, and many also of the most knowing among the Citizens, and those of the greatest Authority, were of the same Mind. They thought it very imprudent to involve the State in a dangerous War, for their Neighbours Quarrels, by opposing so powerful an Army, headed by the King of France in Person, who entered Italy with the Affistance of the State of Milan, and if not with the Consent, at least without the Contradiction of the Venetian Senate. To confirm their Opinion, they had the Authority of Cosmo de

de Medici, deemed one of the wifest Men A. D. of his Age in Italy; who, in the War between Giovanni d' Anjou and Ferdinando, though the latter was supported by the Pope, and the Duke of Milan, had always counselled their Republic not to oppose Giovanni. They also revived the Memory of Lorenzo Father of Piero, who at every Report of the Return of the Anjouins was always of the same Opinion as Cosmo; and, terrified at the Power of the French, after this very King was become Master of Bretany, used to say that he foresaw great Calamities coming upon Italy, if ever the King of France should become sensible of his Strength. But Piero de' Medici, taking his Measures more from Inclination than Prudence, and prefuming too much on his own Opinion, thought this mighty Storm would blow over, and spend itself in Noise and Bluster, rather than in working any real Effect. He therefore listened to the Perfuasions of some of his Ministers, who were suspected to have been corrupted by Alfonso, and being determined to persist in his Friendship with the Aragonians, his Power

#### THE HISTORY OF

1494 were obliged to submit to his Will.

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I HAVE it from good Authority, that Piero, not content with inheriting the Power his Father had exercised in the Republic, tho' fuch, that he had the Nomination of all the Magistrates, and nothing of Moment could be transacted without his Approbation, yet aspired to a more absolute Sovereignty, and intended to take upon him the Title of Prince; without wifely estimating the Circumstances of the City, which at that Time being powerful, and abounding in Riches, and which had now, for feveral Ages, been amused with a Shew of a Republic, in which the better Sort of Citizens, being accustomed to participate in the Government, were rather like Colleagues than Subjects, it was not likely that they would fubmit to fo great and fudden a Change without much Violence. Pierotherefore being fensible that it was neceffary to lay some extraordinary Foundation for the Support of his ambitious Defires, in order to fecure himself of a powerful Defence for the Preservation of his new

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### THE WARS IN ITALY. 101

Principality, entered into boundless En- A. D. gagements with the Aragonians, and re- 1494. folved to run the same Fortune with them. And it happened that a few Days before the Arrival of the French Ambassador at Florence, it was discovered that Lorenzo and Giovanni de' Medici, young Men of great A Plot a-Wealth, and very nearly related to Piero gainst Piby Blood, having fallen out with him on dici. Occasion of some youthful Trick which he had played them, had by means of Cosmo Rucellai, Cousin German of Piero, entered into fome Negociations with Lodovico Sforza, and through his Introduction with the King of France, which were directly levelled against the Greatness of Piero. For this Offence they were taken into Cuftody by the Magistrates, but came off with a very flight Punishment, being only confined to their Country Houses, the Moderation of the Citizens, tho' not without great Difficulty, prevailing on Piero to consent that the Rigour of the Laws should not be exercised upon his own Biood. As he was, however, convinced by this Accident, that Lodovico Sforza was intent on procuring his Ruin, he judged it the more necessary

# THE HISTORY OF

A. D. necessary for him to persevere in his first.

1494. Resolution.

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An Answer was then given to the Ambassadors in kind and respectful Terms, but not conclusive according to their Expectations; representing, on one hand, the natural Affection of the Florentines to the House of France, and their immense Desire of fatisfying fo glorious a King; on the other shewing the Impediments that lay in the Way, fince nothing could be more unworthy of Princes or Republics, than not faithfully to observe their Engagements, the express Violation of which they could not avoid, if they confented to his Demands, confidering that there still subfisted the Confederacy, which, by the Authority of King Lewis his Father, they had contracted with Ferdinando, with a Promise, that after his Death it should take Place in Alfonso, and with an express Condition that they should be obliged not only to the Defence of the Kingdom of Naples, but to refuse a Passage through their Territories to any Power that should offer to invade it: That they were extremely formecellar

103 ry that it was impossible for them to take A. D. 1494. any other Resolution, but hoped that the King, out of his confummate Wisdom and Justice, knowing their very good Disposition, would ascribe their not promising to answer his Expectations to Impediments of so just a Nature. The King was high-Florentine ly provoked at this Answer, and ordered Ambassathe Ambassadors immediatedy to departed to quit out of France, and expelled from Lions, at France. the Instigation of Lodovico Sforza, the Managers of the Bank of Piero de' Medici, but not the rest of the Florentine Merchants. that this Distinction might be interpreted at Florence, as an Acknowledgement that his Majesty resented this Injury as a particular Act of Piero, in which the Genera-

WHILE all the other Italian Potentates were thus divided, some in Favour of the King of France, others in Opposition to him, the Venetians alone were determined to stand neuter, and wait, at leifure, the Issue of these Commotions, either because

lity of the Citizens were unconcerned \*.

<sup>\*</sup> The Family of the Medici got immense Wealth by Trade, and were, by far, the greatoft Bankers in those Days.

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A. D. they were not displeased to see Italy embroiled, in Hopes that a long War exhausting the other Powers might give them an Opportunity of enlarging their own Dominions, or because their Greatness securing them from all Apprehensions of falling an eafy Prey to the Conqueror, they judged it an imprudent Step to make the Quarrels of other People their own without apparent Necessity. Ferdinando, however, was continually folliciting them, and the King of France, both the Year before and at this prefent Juncture, had fent to Venice Ambaffadors, who had represented to the Senate the Friendship and Benevolence that had always fubfifted between the House of France and their Republic, and had been corroborated by mutual affectionate Returns and kind Offices on all Occasions: That the King being desirous to improve this Disposition intreated that most wise Assembly to vouchsafe to assist him in his Undertaking with their Counfel and Favour. To this Representation they had prudently and briefly answered, that the Most Christian King was a Prince of fuch great Wisdom, and had about him

fuch

French Ambaffadors at Venice.

fuch Numbers of grave and moderate A. D. Counsellors, that it would be too prefumptuous for any one to undertake to advise him; adding that the Venetian Senate should rejoice at every prosperous Event that might attend him out of a Refpect which they had always entertained for the Crown of France, and were therefore extremely forry that they were in no Condition to make their Deeds correspond with the Readiness of their Inclinations. For the Apprehensions under which they were continually held by the Grand Turk, who wanted neither Will nor very fair Opportunities to attack them, laid them under a Necessity of keeping Garrisons in many Islands and maritime Towns on his Frontiers at a prodigious Expence, for which Reason they could not in Prudence think of involving themselves in other Wars.

But the Speeches of these Ambassadors, and the Answers made them were of little Significancy with respect to the Preparations both by Sea and Land which were carried on in every Quarter. For Charles had sent Pierre d'Urfé, his Grand Ecuyer, A. D. Ecuyer, to Genoa, of which City the Duke of Milan had made himself Master by Means of the Faction of the Adorni and of Giovan Luigi dal Fiesco, in order to fit out a powerful Fleet of Ships and Galleys, besides other Vessels which he caused to be equipped in the Ports of Villafranca and Marseilles, whence it was publicly talked in his Court that it was defigned to attack Naples by Sea, as Giovanni Son of René had formerly done in his War against Ferdinando. Many, however, in France still believed that these mighty Preparations would prove of no Service, grounding their Opinion on the King's weak Capacity, the mean Abilities of his Counsellors, and the Want of Money; but the Ardor of the King could not be controuled. At the Persuasions of some who were most intimate with him, he had affumed the Title of King of Jerusalem and of the Two Sicilies, claimed at that Time by the Neapolitan Kings, and was ardently intent on making Provisions of War, collecting Money, reviewing his Men at Arms, and concerting Measures with Galeazzo di San Severino, who was privy to all the fecret Counfels

Counsels and Resolutions of Lodovico A. D. Sforza.

ALFONSO, on the other hand, who had not neglected making Preparations both by Sea and Land, refolving no longer to fuffer himself to be cajoled by Lodovico's fair Promises, thought it more expedient to terrify and distress him, than to fatigue himfelf in vain Endeavours to mollify and fecure him on his Side. He therefore ordered the Milanese Ambassador to quit Naples, recalled his own from Milan, and put under Sequestration the Revenues of the Dutchy of Bari, which had been for many Years enjoyed by Lodovico by Donation of Ferdinando; and not content with these rather Indications of open Enmity than real Hostilities, he determined to be the first Aggressor, and applied all his Thoughts to deprive the Duke of Milan of the City of Genoa, an Enterprise, in the present Juncture, of the greatest Importance. For a Revolution in that City could not fail of creating great Uneafiness to Lodovico in his Government of Milan, and the King of France would be de-VOL. I. prived K

A. D. prived of an Opportunity of molesting Naples by Sea. With this View he fecretly treated with Cardinal Pagolo Fregofo, who had been formerly Doge of Genoa, and had many Partifans of the fame Family, and with Obietto dal Fiesco, both Heads of strong Parties in that City and in its Rivieras, and also with some of the Maleconteuts of the Adorni, who were all Fugitives on fome Account or other. Alfonso therefore resolved to make an Attempt for their Restoration, being often heard to fay, that Preventions and Diverfions were the best Means to overcome an Enemy. He defigned also to march in Person at the Head of a potent Army into Romagna, in order to pass from thence with all Expedition into the Territory of Parma, where, by declaring for the Cause and setting up the Standard of Giovan Galeazzo, he was in Hopes that the People of the Dutchy of Milan would make an Infurrection against Lodovico. And though it might be difficult for him to fucceed, he judged it highly for his Advantage that the War should commence at a great Distance from his own Kingdom, and a Matter

109 A. D. 1494.

Matter of no small Importance towsrds a Decision of the War, that the French should be overtaken by the Winter in Lombardy, by which, he imagined, that, according to what is practised only in Wars in Italy, where the Armies are not used to take the Field till the latter End of April, they would be obliged, in order to avoid the Rigour of the Season, to take up their Quarters in the Country of their Friend till Spring, in which Interval of Time he was in Hopes that some Opportunity might offer for his Preservation.

He also sent Ambassadors to Constanti-Alsonsonople, to demand Assistance, as in a Case of applies to common Danger, of Bajazet, the Ottomansor Assistance. Prince of the Turks, on account of what ance. Was publickly reported that it was the Intention of Charles, after he had conquered Naples, immediately to pass into Greece. This was a Danger which he knew Bajazet could by no means despise, for the Fame of the Expeditions of the French Nation into Asia against the Insidels in Times past had insused into the Turks no small Terror of their Arms.

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Matter of no feet

A. D. 1494. en by the Pope.

WHILE these Things were in Agitation Offia tak- on all Sides, the Pope fent his Troops to Offia under the Command of Nicolo Orfini, Count of Pitigliano, who, affisted by Alfonso both by Sea and Land, made himself Master of the Town without Difficulty, and having begun to batter the Castle, the Governor, by the Interposition of Fabritio Colonna, and with the Confent of Giovanni della Rovere, Prefect of Rome, and Brother of the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, gave up the Place after a few Days Refistance. By the Capitulation the Pope was obliged not to profecute, either with Cenfures or Arms, the Cardinal nor Prefect, without fresh Provocation; and Grotta Ferrata, which the Cardinal had left in the Hands of Fabritio, was to continue in his Possession with the same Rights, on his paying 10,000 Ducats to the Pope. of od darly regind way and

> But Lodovico Sforza, whom the Cardinal, when he passed from Savona, had made acquainted with the fecret Negotiations which Alfonso, by his Counsels and Medi

ation, was transacting with the Exiles of A. D. Genoa, having represented to Charles the 1494. great Obstacles that might result from thence to his Defigns, induced him to give Orders for the March of 2000 Swifs to Genoa, and for the immediate Passage of 300 Lances into Italy. Aubigni who was returning from Rome, but had Orders from the King to stop at Milan, was to take the Command of these Lances, and hold himfelf in Readiness either for the Security of Lombardy, or to proceed forwards as Neceffity or Occasion required, in Conjunction with 500 Men at Arms, listed at the same time into the King's Pay, under Giovan Francesco da San Severino, Count of Gajazzo, Galeotto Pico, Count of Mirandola, and Ridolfo da Gonzaga, besides 500 others whom the Duke of Milan was obliged to furnish. Lodovico, not forgetting his usual Arts, ceased not to affure the Pontiff, and Piero de' Medici, of his Disposition to procure the Peace and Security of Italy, feeding fometimes one, fometimes the other with Hopes that he would foon make it appear by evident Demonstration.

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A, D. 1494.

IT is hardly possible that a very strong Affeveration should not leave some Doubt in the Minds of those who are determined to believe the contrary: And therefore tho' no longer Credit was given to Lodovico's Promises, the Execution of those Enterprizes that had been concerted was, however, by this means, in some measure retarded. For both the Pope and Piero de' Medici would have been extremely pleafed with making an Attempt on Genoa, but because such a Step would amount to a direct Attack upon the State of Milan, the Pope being requested by Alfonso to lend him his Gallies, and to join his Forces with his in Romagna, agreed to unite their Troops for their common Defente in Romagna, but not to proceed any farther; but as to the Gallies he made fome Difficulty, alledging that it was not yet a proper Time to drive Lodovico to so great a Degree of Despair. The Florentines were also requested to afford a Receptacle and Refreshments to the Neapolitan Fleet in the Port of Livorno, but hesitated for the same Reason, and because, as they had excused themselves from

complying with the Demands of the A. D. King of France, under Pretence of their Confederacy with Ferdinando, they were by no means disposed to take any further Steps, than those to which they were bound by their League, till they were forced by Necessity.

THE State of Affairs now admitting of The Pope no further Delay, the Fleet, at last, under so meet at Admiral Don Federigo, fet Sail from Na-Vicozaro. ples, and Alfonso in Person, affembled his Army in the Abruzzi, with a Defign to pass into Romagna. But before he proceeded he thought it necessary to have a Conference with the Pope, who was equally defirous of it, in order to fettle what Measures were to be taken for their common Safety. On the thirteenth of July they met one another at Vicovaro, a Town belonging to Virginio Orfino, where they held a Conference which lasted three Days, and afterwards parted with mutual Satisfaction. In this Meeting it was refolved, by Advice of the Pope, that the King should proceed no farther in Person; but that his Army, which, as he affirmed, K 4. confiftA. D. confisted of little less than a Hundred Squadrons of Men at Arms, reckoning twenty Men to a Squadron, and above 3000 Archers with Cross-bows, and light Horse, should, Part of them, commanded by himself, post themselves on the Frontiers of the Abruzzi, for the Security of the ecclefiaftic State, and of his own Dominions; that Virginio should remain in the Territory of Rome, to observe the Colonna's, who had given Umbrage, and made it thought proper to dispose of 200 of the Pope's Men at Arms, and Part of the King's light Horse in Rome; and that Ferdinando Duke of Calabria (which is the Title of the eldest Son of the Kings of Naples) a young Prince of vast Hopes, should take his March into Romagna with Seventy Squadrons, the Remainder of the light Horse, and the greater Part of the ecclefiaftical Troops, which last was grantted only for acting on the defensive. The young Duke was to be attended into the Field, as Moderators of his Youth, by Gianjacopo da Trivulzi, General of the King's Army, and Count Pitigliano, both famous and expert Commanders, the last

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of whom left the Pope's to enter into the King's Service. It was imagined that the Duke's Presence, if the Army advanced into Lombardy, would be of great Service to the Cause, since he was allied by a near and double Relation to Giovanni Galeazzo, who was the Husband of Isabella his Sister, and Son of Galeazzo, Brother of Ippolita, who was his Mother.

Bur one of the most important Concerns that came under Confideration between the Pope and Alfonso was the Affair of the Colonna's, who gave manifest Suspicions that they were forming some new Plot. For Prospero and Fabritio having ferved the late King, and obtained of him States and honourable Privileges, Prospero, who, fince his Decease, after many Promises to Alfonso to keep his Post in the Army, had, by means of Cardinal Ascanio, engaged himself in common to the Pope and the Duke of Milan, would not afterwards confent, tho' follicited, to throw up Lodovico's Commission, and remain solely in the Pope's Pay: And Fabritio, who had continued in Alfonso's Service, seeing the Pope

Pope and the King incensed against Pro-A. D. 1494. spero, made a Difficulty of attending the Duke of Calabria into Romagna, if the Concerns of Prospero and of the whole Family of the Colonna's were not by some proper Method first settled and secured. This Pretence served as a Colour for their Scruples, but in fecret they were both influenced by their extraordinary Friendship with Cardinal Ascanio, who had a few Days fince left Rome to avoid the Pope's Jealoufy, and retired into their Territories, and by the Hopes of greater Emoluments, but much more by their Resentment against Alfonso for bestowing the first Place in his Court, and the most ample Share of his Prosperity on Virginio Orsino, the Head of the contrary Faction, which altogether induced them to enter into the French Service. And to conceal their Intention, till they thought they might declare their new Engagements with Safety, they pretended to defire an Agreement with the Pontiff and Alfonso; who infifting that Prospero should take the whole Command under them, fince otherwife they could not be fecure of his having left the Service of the Duke of Milan, treated conti-

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continually with them. But the Colonna's, in order to prevent coming to a Conclusion, started from time to time fresh Objections against the Conditions that were proposed.

WHILE this Treaty was in Hand Alexander and Alfonso had different Views: The Pope wanted to feize on the Castles which the Colonna's possessed in the Roman Territory, and was glad of an Opportunity to attack them; but the King, having no other View than his own Preservation, was loth to have recourse to Arms but as the last Remedy. But he durst not presume to oppose the Pontiff's ambitious Defire, and therefore they resolved to force Submission by Hostilities, and the Number of Troops and Order of Attack were fettled between them; but a Tryal was to be first made whether fome Way might not be found within a few Days for an Accommodation,

THESE and many other Negotiations were transacted on all Sides, till at last the Sailing of Don Federigo on the Expedition to Genoa gave a Beginning to the Italian War. This Admiral had certainly under A. D. his Command the greatest and best provided Fleet that for many Years had failed on the Tuscan Sea; for it confisted of Thirty-five light Gallies, Eighteen Ships of War, and a great Number of smaller Vessels, was furnished with a large Quantity of Artillery, and had on board Three Thousand Foot for making a Descent. Confiding in these mighty Provisions, and in the Exiles whom he carried with him, Federigo left Naples with vast Hopes of Success. But the Delay of his Departure, occasioned by Difficulties common to all great Movements, and in some measure by the artful Hopes given by Lodovico, and afterwards their stopping in the Ports of the Senese in order to enlist Five Thousand Men, had rendered difficult an Enterprise which a Month before would have proved very easy. For the Enemy having had Time to make powerful Provisions, the Bailiff of Dijon was already entered into Genoa with Two Thousand Swiss in the Pay of the King of France, and, besides a great Number of Ships and Gallies equipped in the Port, there were arrived Part of the armed Vessels designed from Marseilles. Lodovica

Lodovico alfo, sparing no Cost, had di- A. D. spatched thither Gasparo da San Severino 1493. firnamed Francassa, and Antonmaria his Brother with a Body of Foot. And that he might make as much Use of the Hearts and Affections of the Genoese, as of the Affistance of foreign Troops, he secured to his Interest, with Gifts, Pensions, Promises, and various Rewards, the Good Will of Giovan Luigi dal Fiesco Brother of Obietto, the Adorni, and many others, both of the Nobility and popular Party, who were best qualified for keeping the City in Order; and, on the other hand, he summoned a great Number of Partisans of the Exiles from Genoa and all the Towns of the Rivieras to Milan. To these Preparations, great and powerful in themselves, the Presence of Lewis Duke of Orleans added new Life and Reputation. Duke of That Nobleman arrived about the fame arrives at time that the Aragonian Squadron was disco-Genoa. vered on the Sea of Genoa, and made his Entry into that Town with a Commission from the King of France, after he had held a Conference at Alexandria, on Matters relating to the common Cause, with Lodovico

and treated him with great Honour, but as his Equal, little imagining (as the Affairs of Mortals are wrapt up in Obscurity) how soon his Dominions would be in his Power, and his Life lie at his Mercy.

THESE Apprehensions and Precautions occasioned the Aragonese, who had before defigned to present themselves with their Fleet in the Port of Genoa, in Hopes that the Friends of the Exiles would raise some Commotions, to change their Refolution, and determine to attack the Rivieras. But after various Debates whether it were most adviseable to attack the Eastern or Western Riviera, it was at last agreed to follow the Opinion of Obietto, who promised himself great Assistance from the Inhabitants of the Eastern Riviera, and to fail directly to the Town of Porto Venere. But the Place being defended by Four Hundred Foot dispatched thither from Genoa, and the Inhabitants animated by the Presence of Giovan Luigi dal Fiesco. who was arrived from Spetie, they were repulfed in an Affault which lasted several Hours:

Hours: Lofing therefore all Hopes of A. D. making themselves Masters of the Town they failed off, and retired into the Port of Livorno, in order to take in Provisions. and augment the Number of their Foot; for being affured that the Towns of the Riviera were well provided, it was thought necessary to act with a greater Force. Here Don Federigo receiving Advice that the French Fleet, which was inferior to his in Gallies, but superior in Ships of War, was preparing to fail out of the Port of Genoa, fent back his Ships to Naples, that he might the more readily by the Swiftness of his Gallies disengage himself from the Enemy, if they should come and attack him with their Gallies and Ships in Conjunction; though he was not without Hopes of defeating them, if by Accident or Defign their Ships should be separated from their Gallies.

In the mean time the Duke of Calabria was marching with a Land Army towards Romagna, with an Intention to advance from thence into Lombardy, according to the first Resolutions. But to secure A. D. a free Passage, and leave no Impediments behind him, it was necessary to affure himself of the Friendship of the State of Bologna, and of the Cities of Imola and Forli; for Cesena, a City immediately fubject to the Pope, and the City of Faenza subject to Astorre di Manfredi, a Child, in the Pay and governed under the Protection of the Florentines, were very ready to furnish the Aragonian Army with all Conveniencies. Forli and Imola were under the Government of Ottaviano, Son of Geronimo Riario, with the Title of Vicar of the Church, but under the Tutelage and Direction of his Mother Caterina Sforza. The Pope and Alfonso had for several Months been treating with this Lady about taking Ottaviano into their common Pay, with an Obligation comprehending the Defence of his States. But the Treaty was never perfected, partly because of the Difficulties which she interposed in order to obtain better Conditions, and partly because the Florentines, persisting in their first Resolution not to proceed against the King of France beyond the Obligations under which they stood to Alfonfo,

fonso were determined not to concur in the A. D. Expence, and their Confent was necessary because the Pope and the King refused to be at all the Charges; but much more because Caterina declared that she would not endanger those Cities, unless the Florentines as well as the others obliged themfelves to defend the States of her Son. A Conference which Ferdinando, in marching with his Army to Romagna by the Way of Marecchia, had with Piero de' Medici at Borgo a San Sepolero removed these Difficulties. For they had no fooner met than the Duke, by Commission from his Father Alfonso, made an Offer to Piero of himself and his Army to be employed, wholly at his Discretion, in all Affairs relating to Florence, Siena and Faenza. Piero flushed with those Offers became as hot and forward as ever, and returning to Florence was pleafed, though diffuaded by the wifest of the Citizens, that the Republic should give its Consent to this Treaty, because Ferdinando with the utmost Earnestness insisted on it. Ottaviano, being taken into Pay at the joint Expence of the Pope, Alfonso, and the Florentines, VOL. I. within

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A. D. within a few Days after the City of Bo. logna acceded to their Alliance, by means of hiring in the same Manner Giovanni Bentivoglio, by whose Authority and absolute Will it was governed, and to whom the Pope promifed, under the Guaranty of the King and Piero de' Medici, to create his Son Anton Galeazzo, then Apostolical Protonotary, a Cardinal. The Taking these Lords into Pay gave great Reputation to Ferdinando's Army, and would have given it much greater, if on this Success he had immediately entered Romagna. But fuch was the Slowness of the Aragonians in marching from the Kingdom of Naples, and the Diligence of Lodovico Sforza, that as foon as Ferdinando arrived at Cesena, Aubigni and Count Gajazzo, General of Sforza's Troops, with Part of the Army appointed to oppose the Aragonians, were passed through the Bolognese without Obstacle, and entered into the Territory of Imola. Hence Ferdinando, disappointed of his first Hopes of passing into Lombardy, was necessitated to fix the Seat of the War in Romagna, where, though the other Cities were in

the Aragonian Interest, yet Ravenna, and A. D. Cervia, which were subject to the Venetians, observing a Neutrality, and the little Country adjacent to the Po, being in the Possession of the Duke of Ferrara, the French and Milanese Troops wanted for no Conveniency.

But Piero de' Medici, not in the least reclaimed from his Rashness by the Miscarriage of the Enterprize on Genoa, nor the Obstacles that presented themselves in Romagna, entered into a private Convention with the Pope and Alfonso, unknown to the Republic, in which he obliged himfelf to oppose the King of France with open Arms, and not only confented that the Neapolitan Fleet should be allowed a Reception, and to take in Provisions, in the Port of Livorno, with Liberty to lift Soldiers in any Part of the Florentine Dominions, but transgreffing all Bounds of Moderation caused Annibale Bentivoglio, Son of Giovanni, in the Pay of the Florentines, to join the Army of Ferdinando, with his Regiment, and that of Aftorre Manfredi, as foon as he entered the Territory of Forli, be-L 2 fides

# THEHISTORY OF

A. D. fides which he fent him 1000 Foot with Artillery.

THE like Disposition seemed to continue in the Pope, who, besides his warlike Preparations, did not think it enough, first to exhort Charles, by a Brief, not to pass into Italy, but to proceed in a judicial Way, and not by Force of Arms, but afterwards, by another Brief, fent him positive Orders to forbear under Pain of the ecclefiastical Cenfures: And, by means of the Bishop of Cagliari, his Nuntio at Venice, used all his Endeavours, in Concert with the Neapolitan Ministers, who resided there for that Purpose, and those of the Florentines, who acted fomewhat more cautiously, to engage that Senate, out of Regard to the public Safety of Italy, to oppose the French with Arms, or at least to make lively Representations to Lodovico, that they were highly diffatisfied with his new Measures. But the Doge, in the Name of the Senate, answered, that it was not the Part of a wife Prince to draw a War into his own Dominions, to fave those of his Neighbours; and, accordingly, it was agreed to

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act in a Manner, that neither Party might have just Reason from outward Appearances, or real Effects, to take Offence.

THE King of Spain, being pressed by the Pope and Alfonso, promised to send his Fleet, with a great Number of Troops into Sicily, in order to fuccour, if it should be needful, the Kingdom of Naples. And because the King complained of the Want of Money, to hasten the Expedition, Alfonso sent him a certain Sum, and Alexander gave him Leave to employ, for this Purpose, the Money collected by the Authority of the Holy See, under the Name of the Croissade, in Spain, which was never known to have been made Use of, but against the Infidels, who, indeed, had little Cause to fear at present: For Alfonso had before dispatched several Messengers to Constantinople, and now sent Camillo Pandone, who, by the Pope's Orders, was privately accompanied by Giorgio Bucciardo, a Genoese, a Person who had formerly been fent thither by Pope Innocent. Bajazet received them with infinite Demonstrations of Respect and Honour, and foon dispatched them,

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afterwards confirmed by an Ambassador sent on Purpose to Naples: But his Promises were never performed, either because the Distance was so great, or because it was not an easy Matter for Turks and Christians to repose any Confidence in one another.

ALFONSO and Piero, finding that neither by Land nor Sea they had hitherto met with any Success against Lodovico, resolved to try if they could deceive him by his own Craft and Arts: But their Stratagems miscarried as well as their Force. It was the Opinion of many, that Lodovico, in his Heart, with regard to his own Safety, could not be defirous that Charles should conquer Naples; but that his Design was, when he had made himself Duke of Milan, and brought the French Army into Tuscany, to interpose his Mediation for some Agreement, by which Alfonso should acknowledge himfelf tributary to the Crown of France, and give the King a Security for the same; and perhaps dismember from the Florentines the Towns they posfeffed

fessed in the Lunigiana; and then prevail A. D. with the King to return into France. In this Manner he would humble the Florentines, diminish the Strength and Authority of the King of Naples, and secure himself in the Sovereignty of the Milanefe, without running those Risques he had Reason to fear from a conquering French Army. That he hoped, as Winter was approaching, the King might meet with fuch Difficulties as would retard the Course of his Victories, fo as not to be able to proceed any farther than Florence till Spring: And as he was apprized of the impatient Temper of the French, the Want of Money, and the Dislike of many of the Courtiers to this Expedition, he trusted that, in the mean Time, an Accommodation might be effected. But whatever were Lodovico's first Defigns, certain it is, that, tho' he had in the Beginning used all his Endeavours to detach Piero from the Aragonians, he now tampered, very fecretly, with him, and encouraged him to perfift in his Alliance with Alfonso, promising that he would so manage Matters, that the King of France should either not pass, or, if he did, should foon L 4

A. D. foon return without attempting any thing 1494.

on this Side the Mountains. This Negotiation was carried on by his Minister refiding in Florence, who was commissioned never to cease pressing this Point. Lodovico was either fincere, or being bent on Piero's Destruction took this Method to compleat it, leaving him no Room for a Reconciliation with the King of France. Piero gave Notice of these Negotiations to Alfonso, who counselled him to communicate them to the King of France: Wherefore Piere, feigning himself indisposed, after concealing the French Minister where he might over-hear the Conference, fent for Lodovico's Ambassador; then repeating what the Ambassador had before proposed, together with his Promises, said it was owing to his Master's Authority, that he had so obstinately refused the King of France's Offers; and, grievously complaining that he should be so earnest in folliciting the King to come into Italy, concluded, That fince Lodovica's Actions were not conformable to his Promises, he was under a Necessity to take a Resolution not to involve himself in so great a Danger.

A Plot against Lodovico.

Danger. The Milanefe replied, That he A. D. had no Reason to doubt of his Master's Faith, if on no other Account, yet at least because it would prove equally dangerous to him if the King of France should conquer Naples; exhorting him with the most powerful Persuasions to persist in his Sentiments, for by departing from them he would be the Cause of reducing himself and all Italy into Slavery. The French Ambaffador informed the King with what he had heard, and affured him that he was betrayed by Lodovico. But this cunning Device was not attended with the Effect proposed by Alfonso and Piero; on the contrary some of the French Ministry themfelves having informed Lodovico of what had passed, he became more enraged than ever against Piero, and pressed the King, with great Earnestness, not to lose any farther Time. W : bottown yidhw

Now not only the vast Preparations by Land and Sea, but also Heaven and Men seemed to prognosticate grievous Calamities to Italy: For all those who made a Profession of having attained, either by Skill

had produced feveral Monfters: And that

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ledge of future Events, joined in declaring that there appeared greater and more frequent Changes, with stranger and more terrible Accidents, than had been known, for many Ages, in any Part of the World.

A Report And with no less Terror to Mankind it of feveral was confidently reported that several Prodigies had happened in different Parts of Italy: That three Suns, in the Night, had

appeared in Puglia, in the Midst of the Firmament, furrounded with Clouds full of dreadful Thunder and Lightning: That in the Territory of Arezzo Bands of Men in Armour, on huge Horses, accompanied with a terrible Noise of Drums and Trumpets, had been plainly feen to pass through the Air for several Days together: That, in divers Parts of Italy, the facred Images and Pictures had visibly sweated: Women and Animals had produced several Monsters: And that many other Accidents, that seemed contrary to the ordinary Course of Nature, had happened in divers Parts: Whence the Populace, already alarmed with the Ap-

prehensions of the Power and Fierceness of

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the French, were under the greatest Con-A. D.
sternation. They were told, that History was full of the Devastations committed
by them in former Times: How they had
plundered all Italy, and destroyed Rome
with Fire and Sword: And that Asia, and
all Parts of the World, some time or other
had selt the Weight of their Arms.

THESE Fears, produced by Celestial Signs, Predictions, Prognostics, and Prodigies, were every Day increased with the News they received of their Effects being at Hand: For Charles, fixed in his Refolution, was now come to Vienne in Dauphine, and could neither be diffuaded from going personally into Italy by the Intreaties of his whole Kingdom, nor retarded by the Want of Money; there not being, at that Time, a Sufficiency for the present Exigencies, without pawning, and that for no considerable Sum, certain Jewels he had borrowed of the Duke of Savoy, the Marchioness of Montferrato, and some other Noblemen of his own Kingdom. All the Money of the Finances, and what Lodovico had left him, had partly been expended 134 1494

A. D. pended in fitting out his Fleet, on which great Dependance had been laid, and the rest inconsiderately diffipated at Lyons amongst his Favourites. Nor could he, eafily, procure a fresh Supply: For, in those Days, Princes were not accustomed to extort Money from their Subjects, as they have fince been taught to do, by immoderate Avarice and Ambition, without any Regard to human and divine Laws.

In this Diforder, and on fo flender a Foundation, Charles undertook this important War, hurried on rather by Impetuofity and Rashness, than guided by Prudence and Counfel. But, as it often happens at the Entrance upon the Execution of new, great, and hazardous Exploits, how maturely foever projected, that Men are apt to frighten themselves with the Diffi-Murmurs culties they raise in their Minds; so now, when the King was just setting out, and in Motion towards the Alts, a great Murmur fpread over the Court, some complaining of the common Difficulties attending fuch an Expedition, others of the Perfidiousness of the Italians, and, above

in the French Camp.

above all, of the Treachery of Lodovico A. D. Sforza, against whom they might be the more exasperated, as they had, perhaps, heard that a Sum of Money expected from him was not arrived: And not only those who had ever opposed it began now boldly to exclaim, but even some of those who had been the principal Promoters, and, amongst the rest, the Bishop of St. Malo, began visibly to waver. These Clamours, The coming at last to the King's Ears, raised King's Irresolution. fuch a Commotion in all the Court, and in his own Breast, and such an Inclination to stop all Proceedings, that he fuddenly gave Orders for the Troops to halt; wherefore feveral Officers, who had already fet out, returned back, supposing there would be no Expedition to Italy. And it was thought that would have been the Case, if the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, a fatal Instrument then, before, and after, of all the Calamities of Italy, had not interposed, and with the Authority and Vehemence of his Speech melted the almost frozen Spirits of the Army, and brought the King back to his former Refolution. He not only refreshed the King's Memo-

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A. D. ry with the Motives which had induced him to engage in so glorious an Undertaking, but laid also before him the Scorn with which he would be treated by the whole World, if through his Levity so noble a Design was not carried into Execution.

" To what Purpose, said he, has your Speech of the Cardinal of San Majesty weakened your Barrier by the Restitution of the Towns of Artois, to your Piero in Vincola. exposing the Frontiers of your Kingdom on that Side? For what Reason have you opened a Door to the King of Spain to enter your Kingdom, by parting with Roussillon, to the great Dissatisfaction of your Nobility and People? Such important Concessions were never made by Princes, but to free themselves from the utmost Dangers, or with a View of obtaining fome fignal Advantage. But what Danger has appeared? What Necessity for changing your Resolution? What Reward could be expected, but of purchasing much greater Shame, and even that at a very dear Rate? What new Accidents, what Difficulties have arisen? What Dan-

A. D.: 1494.

gers have been discovered fince the Publication of this Enterprize to the whole World? On the contrary, are not the Hopes of Victory rather manifestly increafed every Hour, the Foundation on which the Enemy built all their Hopes of Defence now failing them? For the Aragonian Fleet, after making a vain Attempt on Porto Venere, is shamefully fled back into the Port of Livorno, without obtaining any Advantage against Genoa, defended by so many Soldiers, and by a Fleet more powerful than their own; and a few of your Troops, posted in Romagna, have been able to prevent Ferdinando from advancing into Lombardy. With what a Panic, then, must your Adversaries be seized when they hear that the King himself, at the Head of so vast an Army, has passed the Alps! What Tumults will arise in all Parts! With what a Terror will the Pope be affected, when, from his Palace, he views the Arms of the Colonna's at the Gates of Rome! How confounded Piero de' Medici, to fee those of his own Blood rife up against him, and his City loudly - calling on the Name of the French, and gers ardently

A. D. ardently defirous of recovering their Li-1494 berties infringed by him! Nothing will be able to retain your Majesty's Rapidity till you arrive on the Frontiers of the Kingdom of Naples, where your Approach will diffuse the same Tumults and Terrors, and nothing else will be feen but Flight or Rebellion. Can there be any Apprehension of a Want of Money? None furely: For as foon as the Noise of your Arms, and the Thunder of that impetuous Artillery is heard in Italy, the Italians with strive who can bring the greatest Quantities. And, besides, if any one should offer to resist, the Spoils, the Prey, the Riches of the Conquered will maintain the Army. For the Italians, being accustomed rather to a Show of than a real War, will not have Vigour enough to fustain the French Fury. What Fears then, what Confusion, what Dreams, what Spectres of Danger have possessed your Royal Breast? Where is the Magnanimity, where is the Fierceness, with which you boasted, but four Days since, that you could overcome all Italy united together? He defired he would confider, that Things now

were

## THE WARSIN ITALY.

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were gone too far to recede; fince his Towns were alienated, Ambaffadors admitted, fent, and difmiffed; the necessary Expences and Preparations made; his Intentions public, and he come in Person so near the Foot of the Alps. The State of his Affairs was now fuch, that, tho' the Expedition were to appear never fo hazardous, it could not be avoided; there being no Medium, in his present Situation, between Glory and Infamy, Flight and Triumph, or his being a King the most esteemed, or the most despised in all the World. Why, then, should he hefitate one Moment to proceed, and gather the Fruits of those Victories already prepared for him?"

THIS was the Substance of the Cardi- The King nal's Speech, which according to his Na-marches ture, was delivered more with efficacious Reasonings, and expressive Gestures, than with ornamental Words; and had fuch Effect on the King, that he would not hearken to any but those who encouraged the War, and departed that very Day from Vienne, accompanied by all the Flower of VOL. I. Min the Associated to the

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A. D. his Nobility and Officers, excepting the 1494. Duke of Bourbon, who was left Regent, and the Admiral, with some others, who were made Governors, and left to take Care of the most important Provinces. The March was ordered into Italy by Mongineura, a much easier Pass than that of Monseni, over which of old Hannibal, with immense Trouble, made his Way \*.

The King The 9th of September, 1494, Charles ararives at rived at Asi; bringing with him into Italy, the Seeds of innumerable Calamities, horrible Events, and Changes in all Scenes of Affairs: For from this Passage derived their Origin not only Changes of States, Subversions of Kingdoms, Desolations of Cities, and most cruel Slaughters; but also new Fashions, new and bloody Ways of making War, and Diseases unknown till those Days: Besides, the Foundation and Arts of Government, which connected the Union of our

\* The Road to the Foot of Monseni, or Monsenis, was not passable for Wheel Carriages, till made so by a Duke of Savoy in the last Century.

Nations.

Princes, have been ever fince fo unhinged, that they could never after be reinstated; fo that a Door was left open for strange

### THE WARSIN ITALY.

Nations, and Armies of Barbarians to invade A. D. and oppress us. And for our greater Unhappiness, that our Shame may not be leffened by the Valour of the Conqueror, as to the Man who by his Coming was the Author of our Miseries, it must be owned, that tho' he was fo amply endowed with the Gifts of Fortune, yet he was no ways favoured by Nature either in Body or Mind: For certain it is that Charles, even from his Youth, was of a weak and infirm Constitution; short, and very ugly, if you except some Sprightliness and Majesty in his Eyes; and his Limbs were so disproportioned, that he had rather the Appearance of a Monster than a Man. He was not only ignorant of the polite Arts, but hardly knew the Figures of the Letters: A Soul aspiring after Dominion, for which of all Things he was the least qualified, for he was ever imposed upon by his Courtiers, with whom he knew not how to preferve either Majesty or Authority. Indolent in every thing that required Trouble, and what he undertook was conducted with little Prudence or Judgment. If any thing appeared in him worthy of Praise, if tho-M 2 roughly

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A, D. roughly examined, it was yet farther from Virtue than Vice: For he had an Inclination to Glory, but then he acted rather by Impulse than Counsel. He was liberal, but inconsiderate, without Measure or Distinction; steady, sometimes, in his Resolutions; but oftener from an ill-grounded Obstinacy than Constancy; and what many called Goodness, deserved rather the Name of Coldness and Weakness of Mind.

THE Day he arrived at Ali Fortune Objetto dal Fiescho began to shew herself propitious with a feizes most joyful Omen, and welcomed him Rapalle. with a Piece of good News from Genoa. For Don Federigo, after retiring from Porto Venere, and refreshing himself, and recruiting at Livorno, had returned into the fame Riviera, and landed Objetto dal Fiescho with Three Thousand Foot. That Commander, with little Difficulty, took Rapalle, a Town Twenty Miles distant from Genoa, and began to make Excursions all over the Country. This Beginning was an Affair of no small Importance in such a Town as Genoa, infected with Parties,

where

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where the least Commotion was very danger-A. D. ous. Wherefore those who governed that 1494. City, that the Enemy might make no farther Progress, sent the Brothers San Severini, and Giovanni Adorni, the Governor's Brother, with the best Part of the Troops, by Land against Fiescho, a sufficient Guard being left at Genoa: And the Duke of The Battle Orleans \*, with a Thousand Swiss, em-ofRapalle. barked in the Fleet, which confifted of Eighteen Gallies, Six Galleons, and Nine large Vessels. As foon as they all met near Rapalle, they very briskly attacked the Enemy, who defended the Bridge in the Suburbs that leads into a small Plain, which extends itself as far as the Sea.

THE Aragonians, besides their own Forces, were defended by their Situation, those Places being rendered stronger by their Ruggedness than by military Fortifications, and therefore the first Attack did not promise Success: For the Swiss, not having Room to extend themselves, began to give Way; till the brave Country Peo-M 3 ple,

<sup>\*</sup> The Duke of Orleans was married to Anne, the King's Sister.

the Ara-

gonians.

A. D. ple, who were Friends to the Adorni, and knew how to fight in those craggy Mountains, crowded in from all Quarters; and at the same time the Artillery from the Fleet, which had approached as near as it could to the Shore, beginning to take the Flight of Aragonians in Flank, they began to open; and when they were driven from the Bridge, Objetto, whose Partisans had not stirred to his Succour, hearing that Luigi dal Fiescho was near them with a good Body of Foot, for Fear of being attacked in the Rear, was, according to the Custom of Exiles, the first that ran away towards the Mountains, and his Example was followed by the rest. There were killed, in fighting and in the Pursuit, above a Hundred Men;

on Horseback, Fregosino, Son of the Cardi-

doubtless a great Slaughter, if we consider the Manner of fighting in Italy in those Days. \*Amongst the many Prisoners was Giulio Orfini, who was in the Service of Alfonso, and had followed the Army with Forty Men at Arms, and some Cross-Bows

<sup>\*</sup> Objecto, after being stopped and searched three times in his Flight, faid facetiously to his Son, Let us strip, and be as naked as Adam, and then we shall pass on unmolested. The Bishop of Nebio.

nal Fregolo, and Orlandino of the same This Victory intirely fecured Genoa: For Don Federigo, immediately after landing the Troops, to avoid fighting with the French Fleet in the Gulph of Rapalle, put out to Sea, and despairing, for the present, of any farther Advantage, retired again to Livorno; and tho' he raised here fome Recruits, and laid several Projects for attacking some other Place in the Rivieras, yet, as commonly one finks in Courage and Reputation when the Beginning of an Enterprize miscarries, he became so disheartened, that he did not venture to make any further Attempt worth Notice, giving just Reason to Lodovico to boast how with his Industry and Cunning he had baffled the Defigns of his Enemies, whose tardy Motions were the fole Cause of the Prefervation of Genoa, and this was procured by his Artifices, and vain Hopes given

Lodovico Sforza and Beatrice his Lodovico Wife, with great Pomp, and attended with meets the a most honourable Company of many La-King at dies of Quality, celebrated for Beauty, from

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dif-

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A. D. different Parts of the Milanese, came to meet the King on his first Coming to Asti; as did also Ercole, Duke of Ferrara. Here, after some Conferences on the common Affairs, it was refolved, without Loss of Time, to march the Army: And that this might be done with greater Speed, Lodovico, who was in no small Concern for fear the Army, as the hard Seafon was approaching, should take up its Winter Quarters in the Dutchy of Milan, lent the King another Sum of Money, of which he was in no small Want. But Charles falling fick of the Small-Pox, staid near a Month in Asti, during which Time the Army was quartered in that City, and in the neighbouring Towns. This Army, as near as I can recollect from the different Accounts, besides the two Hundred Gentlemen of the King's Guard, computing the Swifs that went to Genoa with the Bailiff of Dijon, and those with Aubigni in Romagna, confisted of 1600 Men at Arms, each of whom was attended with two Archers, and four Horsemen, that is to fay, fix Horses to each Lance, this being the Name the French give to their Men

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at Arms, fix Thousand Swifs, and fix A. D. Thousand Foot of his own Kingdom, Half 1494. of whom were of the Province of Gascony, which, according to a Notion of the French, abounds with warlike Foot more than any other Part of France. To join this Army The there arrived by Sea at Genoa a great French Quantity of Field Pieces and battering Artillery. Cannon, fuch as in Italy had never hitherto been feen. This Plague had its Origin many Years before in Germany, and was first brought from thence by the Venetians, about the Year 1380, at which Time the Genoese were at War with them, when the Venetians were beat by Sea, and fo dejected for the Loss of Chioggia, that if the Genoese had not let flip so fine an Opportunity, but had taken proper Counsel, they might have given them what Conditions they pleafed. The largest Pieces of the Artillery we are speaking of, were called Bombarde: And from that Time were spread through Italy, and made use of in Sieges. Some of them were made of Iron and some of Brass, but they were of fo large a Size, that, on account of the little Experience of the Artillery-men, and Clumfiness of their Car-

riages,

A. D. riages, they were moved from Place to Place very flowly and with great Difficulty; and for the same Reason were very unhandy when placed against the Walls of a Town. The Intervals between the Firings were fo long, that a great deal of Time was loft, and little Progress was made in comparison to what we see in our Days. This gave Time to the Besieged to cast up Ramparts, and Fortifications behind the Breaches at their leifure. But, notwithstanding all these Impediments, the Violence of the Saltpetre, of which Gunpowder is made, was fuch, that when these Instruments were set on Fire, the Balls flew with so horrible a Noise, and stupendous Force, even before they were brought to their present Perfection, that they rendered ridiculous all the Instruments, so much renowned, invented by Archimedes and others, and used by the Ancients in Sieges of Towns. But now the French brought a much handier Engine, made of Brass, called Cannon, which they charged with heavy Iron Balls, fmaller without Comparison than those of Stone made use of heretofore, and drove them on Carriages with

with Horses, not with Oxen, as was the A. D. Custom in Italy; and they were attended 1494. with fuch clever Men, and on fuch Instruments appointed for that Purpose, that they almost ever kept Pace with the Army. They were planted against the Walls of a Town with fuch Speed, the Space between the Shots was fo little, and the Balls flew fo quick, and were impelled with fuch Force, that as much Execution was done in a few Hours, as formerly, in Italy, in the like Number of Days. These, rather diabolical than human Instruments, were used not only in Sieges, but also in the Field, and were mixed with others of a smaller Size. Such Artillery rendered Charles's Army very formidable to all Italy; formidable besides, not for the Number but Valour of the Soldiers. The Gens d' Armes \* were almost all Subjects of France, and not of the mean Sort, but Gentlemen, and were not enlifted or dismissed at the Discretion of the Officers, nor paid by them, but by the Ministry. Their Companies were not only compleat, but themselves, their Arms, and their Horses, all in good Order; to

<sup>\*</sup> The Historians sometimes calls the Lances Gens d'

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A. D. effect which their Income was sufficient. They ferved chearfully, and with Emulation; inspired not only by an Instinct of Honour which is nourished in the Breast of Persons of Birth, but also because they had Reason to expect a Reward for their valiant Actions, both in Time of Peace and War; for Things were fo ordered, that by different Steps they arrived to the Post of a Captain. The Officers of the Lances, who were all Barons, Nobles, or at least Gentlemen, were also mostly Subjects of France, and had the same Incitement to Glory. Whenany one of them was at the Head of a Hundred Lances, no Captain being allowed to command above that Number, he was at the Height of his Wishes, and all he had then to do, was to behave in fuch a Manner as to merit his Prince's Approbation, and therefore lay under no Temptation to go into another Service, either to gratify Ambition or Avarice, and was free from any Emulation of being at the Head of a greater Company than his own.

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THE Italian Militia were quite the Reverse, in which many of their Men at Arms, being a Mixture of Peafants, People in low Life, and Subjects of different Potentates, and intirely dependant on their Captains, with whom they agreed for a Salary, and in whose Power it was to retain or difmifs them, were generally Persons that had neither natural nor acquired Parts to enable them to act gallantly. The Captains were very feldom Subjects of the Prince they ferved, but had often a different Interest, and separate Views, were full of Piques and Jealousies, their Service not commonly limited to a certain Time, and being intirely Masters of their own Companies they feldom kept the Number they were paid for compleat. Nor were they fatisfied with what was just, but took all Oc--casions to impose upon their Masters by exorbitant Accounts; never long fettled, but when tired with one Service they paffed into another, and tempted by Ambition, Avarice, or any Thing that concerned their Interest, were not only unfettled but often treacherous. Nor was there

A. D. there less Difference between the French and Italian Infantry: For the Italians were not used to fight in firm, ranged Battalions, but being dispersed in the Field, on any Danger, often retired to take Advantage of Banks and Ditches. But the Swifs, a very warlike Nation, who by long Experience, and by gaining many glorious Victories, have revived the Fame of the antient Valour, moved to the Charge in regular Battalions of a certain Number of Men in a Rank, and without ever breaking their Array, relisted the Impression of the Enemy like a Wall that cannot be shaken, and almost impenetrable, whereever they had Room to extend their Battalions. The French and Gascon Foot obferved the same Order and Discipline, but did not fight with the same Valour.

WHILE the King was detained by Sickness at Asti, fresh Disturbances arose in the Neighbourhood of Rome. For the Alfonso had yielded to all the immoderate Demands of the Colonnas, yet no sooner had Aubigni, with the French Troops, entered Romagna, than they pulled off the Mask,

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1 53 e A. D. e 1494.

Mask, declared themselves Soldiers of the King of France, and after corrupting some of the Spanish Garrison got Possession of the Cittadel of Oftia. The Pope took this Opportunity to complain of the injurious Dealing of the French to all the Christian Potentates, especially to the King of Spain, and Senate of Venice; of which latter he made a fruitless Demand of the Succours with which they were bound to affift him by the Confederacy contracted between them but the last Year: And turning his Thoughts, with a firm Refolution, on preparing for War, he cited Profpero and Fabritio to Rome; and, on their Refufal to appear, ordered their Palaces in Rome to be razed: Then, joining his Troops with Part of those of Alfonso, commanded by Virginio on the River Teverone near Tivoli, he ordered them to invade the Territories of the Colonnas, who had not above Two Hundred Men at Arms, and a Thoufand Foot. But the Pontiff afterwards mistrusting that the French Squadron, which was reputed to be failed from Genoa to the Relief of Ofia, would put in at Nettuno, a Town of the Colonnas, Alfonso affembled

A. D. sembled at Terracina all the Troops which the Pope and he himself had in those Parts, and laid Siege to Nettuno, expecting to be foon Master of the Place. But the Colonnas making a vigorous Defence, and the Regiments of Camillo Vitelli of Citta di Castello, and of his Brothers, who had lately entered into the French Service, being arrived in their Territories without Oppofition, the Pope recalled to Rome Part of his Troops which were in Romagna with Ferdinando, whose Affairs did not proceed with the fame prosperous Course as they seemed to take in the Beginning. For when he was arrived at Villafranca between Forli and Faenza, and from thence was proceeding along the main Road towards Imola, the Enemy's Army, which was posted near Villafranca, and inferior in Strength, retired between the Wood of Lugo and Colombara, near the Fossato of Genivolo, which is by Nature a very strong Post, belonging to the Duke of Ferrara, from whose Country they were supplied with Provisions. Hence Ferdinando being deprived of all Means of attacking them without great Danger, on account of the Strength of their

their Situation, decamped from Imola, and A. D. advanced to post himself at Toscanello, near Castel San Piero, in the Bolognese. For being defirous to come to a Battle, he endeavoured, by making a Shew as if he intendto march towards Bologna, to lay the Enemy under a Necessity of quitting their Camp for one less strong, in order to prevent him from advancing forwards. But their Army, after taking up their Quarters for fome Days in the Neighbourhood of Imola, entrenched themselves on the River Santerno, between Lugo and Sant' Agata, with the Po behind them, in a Camp strongly fortified. Ferdinando the next Day advanced to the fame River near Mordano and Bubano, within Six Miles of their Camp; and the Day following he approached within one Mile of them, in Order of Battle; but after waiting some Hours, to no Purpose, in a wide Plain, very commodious for an Engagement, and feeing the manifest Danger of attacking them in their Entrenchments, he went and posted himself at Barbiano, a Village of Cotignuola, keeping no longer towards the Mountains as he had formerly done, VOL. I. but

A. D. but flanking the Enemy, having always the same Intention of constraining them, if it were possible, to come out of their almost impregnable Situation. Hitherto the Affairs of the Duke of Calabria appeared to proceed much to his Reputation, for the Enemy openly declined to engage, defending themselves rather by the Strength of their Entrenchments than by the Force of their Arms, and in some Skirmishes the Aragonians had rather the Superiority. But the French and the Sforzescan Army increasing daily by the Arrival of the Troops which at first remained behind, the State of the War foon began to be altered: For the Duke's Ardour being restrained by his Governors, who would not permit him to fight under fo much Difadvantage, he retired to Sant' Agata, a Town of the Duke of Ferrara, where being in an Enemy's Country he entrenched himself, for his Foot were also diminished, and by the Pope's recalling part of the Men at Arms of the Church, his whole Army was much leffened. But a few Days after, on hearing that Two Hundred Lances, and a Thousand Swifs, who had

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tired from Sant' Agata, than the Enemy came, and encamped on the same Spot that

the Aragonians had quitted.

had been fent by the King as foon as he A. D. came to Afti, were on the Road, and ready to join the Army, he decamped, and fortified himself in the Cerca of Faenza, which lies between the Walls of the Town, and a wide Ditch about a Mile distant, that surrounds that City, and renders the Situation very strong. He was no sooner re-

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BOTH Armies, without Doubt, in their Turn shewed much Resolution, when one faw the other inferior; but now their Forces were near equal, each avoided trying the Fortune of a Battle; fo that, what rarely happens, the fame Conduct pleafed both Armies: The French thought they had gained the End for which they had paffed from Lombardy, if they prevented the Neapolitans from advancing farther, that having been the fole Motive for marching out of Lombardy; and Alfonso, thinking it no fmall Advantage if he retarded the Progress of the French till Winter, had given positive Orders to his Son, Giovan Jacopo N 2 Trivulzi,

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A. D. Trivulzi, and Count Pitigliano, not to trust to Fortune the Fate of Naples, without a very fair Opportunity, since the Loss of that Army would be followed with that of the Kingdom.

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Bur all Alfonso's Precaution could not fecurehim; for Charles, whose violent Spirit was not to be restrained by Seasons or Difficulties, as foon as his Strength permitted, put himself in Motion with his Army, and arriving at Pavia, lodged in the Castle, where Giovanni, Duke of Milan, lay dangeroufly ill. The Duke was Coufin-german to the King, they being the Sons of two Sisters, Daughters of Lewis the Second, Duke of Savoy, and the King paffing thro' that City, and taking up his Quarters in the same Castle, paid his Kinsman a very kind Vifit. As Lodovico was present, the Conversation was general: Charles only expressed his Sorrow for his bad State of Health, and advised him to chear himself with Hopes of a Recovery; but all perceived the inward Compassion his Majesty and Attendants had for him, every one affuring himself that the Life of the unhappy

happy Youth was drawing near its End, A. D. through the Treachery of his Uncle. And their Pity was much heightened by the Presence of Isabella his Wife, who anxious not only for her Husband, and her Infant Son by him, but also extremely concerned at the Danger of her Father and her other Relations, threw herfelf in a most miserable Manner, before all the Company, at the King's Feet, and with a Flood of Tears begged he would have Compassion on the Distresses of the Aragonian Family. Charles, moved with her Youth and Beauty, feemed to pity her; but, as it was impossible to put a Stop to so great a Movement on fo flight an Occasion, he answered that his Enterprize was in such a Forwardness as laid him under a Necesfity to proceed. From Pavia the King advanced to Piacenza, and while he stayed there he received the News of Giovanni Galeazzo's Death. On this Advice Lodovico, who had accompanied him thither, returned immediately with all Speed to Milan, and affembled the Ducal Council, when the leading Men, suborned by him, delivered it as their Opinion, that, for the Dignity of that State in fuch perilous Times

N 3

nicious that the Son of Galeazzo, a Child of Five Years old, should succeed his Father:

That it was necessary to have a Duke of confummate Wisdom, and it was their Duty, for the Sake of the Public Safety, and, out of Necessity, to dispense with the Disposition of the Law, as the Laws themselves permitted them to do, and to constrain Lodovico to give his Consent, that, for the universal Benefit, the Ducal Dignity, which in such Times was a most oppressive Burden, should be transferred on himself.

UNDER this Colour, Honesty giving Way to Ambition, Lodovico, the he pretended to make some Resistance, the next Morning assumed the Titles and Ensigns of the Dukes of Milan, protesting first in private that he received them as belonging to him by the Investiture of the King of the Romans.

IT was published abroad, that the Death of Galeazzo had proceeded from an immoderate Use of the matrimonial Bed: But it was universally believed thro' Italy that

that no natural Infirmity, nor Incontinence A. D. was the Cause. And Teodoro of Pavia, one of the Royal Physicians, who was prefent when the King made his Vifit, affirmed that he had observed most manifest Symptoms of Poison. And if that was the Case, no one doubted but Lodovico was the Author, as one who, not being content with being the Governor of Milan with abfolute Authority, but eagerly defirous, according to the common Ambition of great Men, to make himself more illustrious by Titles and Honours, and much more induced by imagining that the Death of the lawful Prince was necessary for his own Security, and the Succession of his Children, had determined to transfer and establish the Ducal Power and Name on himself. For the Perpetration of this Piece of Villainy, his Ambition must have offered Violence to his natural Temper, which was generally mild, and by no means sanguinary. It was the common Opinion, that he had meditated this Wickedness from the Time he invited the French into Italy; being perfuaded that, whilst the King was with fuch a numerous Army in the State of N 4 Milan,

A. D. Milan, none would dare to shew his Refentment of fo horrid a Deed. Others thought it a new Project owing to a Fear lest the King, as the French are quick in their Counfels, should proceed in a precipitate Manner to free Giovanni Galeazzo from fo deplorable a Subjection, either moved by Confanguinity, or Compassion for his Age, or thinking it more for his Interest that the Dukedom should be governed by his Coufin than by Lodovico, whose Faith feveral great Men about the King were continually endeavouring to render fuspected. But Lodovico having procured the Investiture the Year before, and taking great Care to have the Imperial Privileges expedited a little before the Death of his Nephew, it feemed rather a premeditated and deliberate than a fudden Act springing from the present Danger.

CHARLES rested some Days at Piacenza, not without some Thoughts of repassing the Mountains. The Want of Money, and no new Alteration in the Affairs of Italy appearing in his Favour, made him doubtful of Success, to which

his Suspicion of the new Duke did not a A. U. little contribute; it being rumoured that, though at taking Leave of him he had promised to return, it was never his Intention to be fo good as his Word. Nor is it unlikely that the villainous Practice of Poisoning, being almost unknown to the Nations beyond the Mountains, but frequent in many Parts of Italy, Charles and all his Court, besides their Jealousy of Lodovico's Infidelity, could not hear his Name mentioned without Horror; and that the King thought himself very much injured, in that he should have procured his Arrival as a Protection to perpetrate with Impunity so detestable a Murder. However it was at last resolved to march forwards, Lodovico continually preffing, and promifing to return to the King in a few Days; for it did not at all answer his Purpose, that the French should remain in Lombardy, or return fuddenly into France.

LORENZO and Giovanni de' Medici, who had stole away privately from their Country Houses, presented themselves to the King the Day he lest Piacenza, and sollicited

3. D. follicited his Majesty to approach with his Army to Florence, giving him abundant Affurances of the Inclinations of the Florentine People to the House of France, and no less of their Hatred to Piero de' Medici, against whom the King's Anger was not a little increased by some new Provocations. For his Majesty had sent an Ambassador from Asti to Florence with Proposals of great Advantages, if they would grant him a Passage through their Dominions, and abstain from affisting Alfonfo, with a Multitude of Threatenings if they persevered in their Resolution; and to strike a greater Terror, the Ambassador was to quit Florence abruptly if they did not instantly comply. As they were at some Loss to find an Excuse for their Delay, he was answered; That the principal Citizens concerned in the Administration were at their Country-Houses, as usual in that Seafon, and therefore they could not fatisfy him on fo fudden a Demand; but that by an Ambassador, whom they would soon fend on purpose, his Majesty should be acquainted with their Intentions.

IT had been unanimously resolved in the royal Council, that it was more adviseable to conduct the Army by the Road that leads through Tuscany and the Territory of Rome directly to Naples, than by that which goes through Romagna and the Marca, and over the River Tronto into the Abruzzi; not because they doubted of driving the Aragonians before them, who could hardly defend themselves against Aubigni, but because it seemed beneath the Greatness of fo mighty a King, and the Glory of his Arms, that fince the Florentines and the Pope had declared against him, he should give Occasion to the Public to imagine he avoided that Rout out of Fear that he should not be able to force his Way thro' their Dominions. They had also a much better Reason for chusing that Road, which was, the Danger of making War in the Kingdom of Naples, and leaving Tuscany and the Ecclefiastic State, hostile Countries, on their Rear. The Way then through Tuscany was chosen, and it was resolved to pass the Appennines by the Mountain of Parma, and not by the direct Road of Bo-

logna.

A. D. logna. This was done to gratify Lodovico, who was bent on making himself Master of Pisa, and had advised this Rout from their first setting out from Asti.

THE Van was conducted by Monseigneur Gilbert de Mompensier, of the Bourbon Family, a Prince of the Blood Royal of France. The King followed with the Rest of the Army, and passed by Pontremoli, a Town belonging to the Dutchy of Milan, and situated at the Foot of the Appennine, on the River Magra, which divides the Country of Genoa, antiently called Liguria, from Tuscany. From Pontremoli Mompensier entered the Country of the Lunigiana; Part of which was fubject to the Florentines, some Castles belonged to the Genoese, and the rest to the Marquisses Malespina, who enjoyed their little Dominions, some under the Protection of the Dukes of Milan, some under that of the Florentines, and others under that of the Genoese. Here Mompensier was joined by the Swifs who had ferved at the Defence of Genoa, and the Artillery that was brought by Sea to Spetie. Then ACEINA.

Then approaching Fivizano, a Castle of A. D. 1494. the Florentines, whither they were conducted by Gabriello Malaspina, Marquis of Fosdinovo, a Friend of the French, they took it by Storm. The Town was plundered, and all the foreign Soldiers, with many of the Inhabitants, were put to the Sword. This Manner of Fighting was quite new to the Italians, and filled them with Amazement and Terror: They had been long accustomed to see their Wars carried on with Pomp and Magnificence, which gave their Armies rather an Appearance of Shew and Grandeur than of Danger and Blood.

THE Florentines made their principal Refistance in Sarzana, a small City, which they had well fortified, but not provided sufficiently against so powerful an Enemy as was necessary: For the Commander was not a Man of Note and Authority, nor was the Garrison numerous, but also already shamefully discouraged and alarmed at the Approach of the French Army: Yet it was thought the Town would not be easily taken, especially the Cittadel; and much

A. D. much less Sarzanello, a Fort well supplied, and fituated on the Mountain above Sarzana: For the Army could not flav long in that defolate Country, pent up between the Sea and the Mountains, they had little Provisions, and the Places were distant from whence they might be timely procured. This had an Appearance of distreffing the King's Affairs: For though he might leave Sarzana behind, and affault Pisa, or go to Lucca, where the Government, by the Duke of Milan's Interest, had privately agreed to receive him, and from thence proceed through another Part of the Florentine State; yet Charles could not bear the Thoughts of leaving behind him the first fortified Town that opposed him, and imagined his Reputation would be fo much diminished, as to encourage a Refistance wherever he came. But by good Fortune, or by Ordination of another and higher Power (if the Imprudence and Faults of Men deserve such Excuses) a sudden Remedy offered itself against this Impediment; for Piero de', Medici had no greater Courage nor Constancy in Adversity, than Moderation and Prudence

Prudence in Prosperity. The Florentines A. D. were every Day more and more apprehenfive of the Mischiefs arising from their Refusal to comply with the King, not so much for the Consequences of a fresh Edict, by which all their Merchants in general had been banished France, as for the Dread they had of the King's Power, which was greatly increased since he passed the Alps, and which he had exercifed with fo much Cruelty at Fivizano. On these Considerations every one detested the Rashness of Piero de' Medici, who trusting more to himself and the Counsels of rash and arrogant Ministers, bold in Times of Peace, but dejected and useless in Times of Danger, than to those of trusty and experienced Citizens, ever Friends to his Father, had, without any Necessity, fo inconsiderately drawn upon them the Arms of a most powerful King of France, become more fo by the Affistance of the Duke of Milan. They had the greater Reason to be alarmed, because Piero was quite ignorant of military Affairs; their Capital and State not fortified, and fo unprovided with Soldiers and Ammunition, that they were

A. D. in no Condition to defend themselves a gainst so formidable an Enemy. Nor did it appear that any of the Aragonians, for whom they had exposed themselves to so much Danger, were engaged, except the Duke of Calabria against a small Body of French in Romagna: That, in confequence, their abandoned City was left exposed to the Rage and Vengeance of a Prince, who had taken fo much Pains not to be under a Necessity of doing them Hurt. This Disposition, almost universal, was heightened by many noble Citizens, who highly difliked the prefent Government, and could not bear that one Family should assume the Power of the whole Republic. These augmenting the Fears of those who were disposed to be fearful, and giving Boldness to those who were fond of Alterations, had exasperated the People to fuch a Degree, that it was expected the City would foon be in a Tumult; to which the People were the more incited by the Pride and immoderate Proceedings of Piero, who, in many Instances, had departed from the civil and mild Behaviour of his Ancestors, and was on that account

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in general to the People. We are well affured that Lorenzo, his Father, who had studied his Temper, was often known to have complained to his most intimate Friends, that he foresaw the Imprudence and Arrogance of his Son would occasion

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the Ruin of his Family.

Piero, then, terrified at the Danger he had before fo rashly despised, and finding himself disappointed of the Succours promifed him by the Pope and Alfonso, who were grieved for the Loss of Ofia, and whose Thoughts were employed on the Siege of Nettuno, and in providing against their Fears of the French Army, took a precipitate Refolution to feek amongst his Enemies that Safety he feared was not to be found any longer amongst his Friends. He had indeed his Father's Example before him; who in the Year 1479, being reduced to great Straits in the War which Pope Sixtus and Ferdinando were waging against the Florentines, went to Naples, and brought back Peace to his Country, and Safety to himself. But it is doubtless very danger-VOL. I.

ous to follow Examples, if the same Reafons do not correspond, not only in general
but also in all particular Circumstances, if
Things are not conducted with equal Judgment, and if, besides all other Foundations,
the same Fortune has not its Share in them.

PIERO, having left Florence with this Refolution, had foon Notice that the Horse of Pagolo Orfini, and Three Hundred Foot, fent by the Florentines to reinforce the Garrison of Sarzana, had been routed by a Party of the French, who had passed the Magra, and the greater Part of them killed or taken Prisoners. 'Till he could procure a Pass he stopped at Pietra Santa, whither the Bishop of St. Malo, and other Courtiers reforted, and conducted him in Safety to the Army the same Day that the King, with the rest of his Forces. had joined the Van that lay before Sarzanello, and battered it, but with little Hopes of taking it.

Piero, being introduced to the King, was favourably, to all Appearance, though not heartily received by him; but he found Means

Means to mitigate, in a great measure, his A. D. Indignation, by fubmitting at once to all his vast and unreasonable Demands. He agreed that the Fortresses of Sarzana, Sarzanello, and Pietra Santa, which were the Keys of the Florentine Dominions on that Side, with the Citadels of Pifa and Livorno. Places of great Importance to the State, should be delivered to the King, who, by a Writing under his own Hand, should be obliged to restore them, as soon as he should be possessed of the Kingdom of Naples. He also engaged that the Florentines should lend the King Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, after which they were to be admitted into his Confederacy, and be under his Protection. These Articles, promised only by Word of Mouth, were to be drawn up in Writing in Florence when Charles, as he intended, passed thro' that City. But the Confignment of Sarzana, Sarzanello, and Pietra Santa, was not deferred, but they were immediately by Piero put into the King's Hands, as were a few Days after, by his Orders, the Citadels of Pisa and Livorno. The French themselves were amazed at his easy Compliance with Things 0 2

### THE HISTORY OF

A. D. Things of such Importance; for the King, without Doubt, would have been content with easier Terms.

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IT may not be improper to relate, here, the Repartee of Lodovico Sforza, who came to the Army the Day after Piero arrived. Piero told him that, out of Respect to his Person, he had gone out to meet him, but that he had deceived him by mistaking the Way: Lodovico very readily answered, "It is certain that one of us mistook, but perhaps it was you;" reproaching him as it were with having incurred fo many Difafters and Dangers by neglecting his good Counfels: But we shall find in the Sequel, that they both mistook the right Road; but to the greater Shame and Unhappiness of him, who, seated in a higher Station, made Profession of being a Guide to all the rest by his Prudence. Piero's Compliance not only fecured Tuscany to the King, but also removed all Obstacles in Romagna, where the Aragonians were already declining; it being difficult for those who were threatned with imminent

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#### THE WARSIN ITALY.

175' A. D.

Danger themselves to provide at the same.

Time against those of others.

WHILST Ferdinando remained secure in the strong Lines of the Cerca of Faenza, whither he had retired with his Army, the Enemy returned towards Imola, after they had tried in vain, with Part of the Army, to possess themselves of the Castle of Bubano; for as it was of a small Circumference, the few in Garrison were sufficient to defend it, and the Country about it lying low was all overflowed. They took however by Affault the Caftle of Mordano, which was a strong and well garrisoned Fortress; but the violent Force of the Artillery, and the Bravery of the French in the Attack was fuch, that tho', in paffing the Ditches full of Water, several of them were drowned, yet the Besteged could not withstand their Fury, and they exercised indeed so much Cruelty in putting to the Sword the Inhabitants of all Ages and Sexes, that they filled all Romagna with great Fear and Horror. Caterina Sforza was so alarmed that, defpairing of Succours, to avoid the present Danger, the capitulated with the French, pro-

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A. D. mising themall Conveniencies in the States belonging to her Son. Wherefore Ferdinando suspecting the Affections of the Faventines, and thinking it very dangerous to remain between Imola and Forli, especially as he was apprifed of Piero's Journey to Sarzana, retired under the Walls of Cefena, shewing great Marks of Fear in his March: For to avoid paffing by Forli, he conducted the Army a more difficult and roundabout Way over Hills, by Castro Caro, a Fort of the Florentines. A few Days after the News came that Piero had made a Treaty with the French, on which the Troops of that Republic immediately withdrew, and then Ferdinando directed his March towards Rome.

At the same Time Don Federigo, leaving Livorno, retired with the Fleet towards the Kingdom of Naples, where Alfonso began to find it very necessary, for the Defence of his own Kingdom, to recall those Forces he had sent with such great Hopes to attack the Dominions of other Princes: But his Affairs began to take as bad a Turn nearer Home; for he miscarried

#### THE WARS IN ITALY.

A. D. 1494.

ried in his Enterprize on Nettuno, and had brought his Army to Terracina, at the same Time that the French Fleet, commanded by the Prince of Salerno and Mons. de Serenon, appeared before Oslia. But they gave out they had no Orders to attack the Pope's Territories, and therefore landed no Men, nor seemed to have any Quarrel with the Pope, notwithstanding that Charles a few Days before had refused to admit to his Audience Cardinal Piccoluomini of Siena sent to him as Legate.

WHEN the News of Piero de' Medici's Convention arrived in Florence, every Breast was fired with high Indignation to fee the Dominion of the Republic so diminished, and its Reputation so grievoufly wounded: Beside their Vexation for fo great a Lofs, they could not brook that Piero, without any Precedent from his Ancestors, without consulting the Citizens, and without any Decree or Authority of the Magistracy, should have alienated so valuable a Part of the Florentine Dominions. Nothing but Complaints and Murmurs against him were heard from the Citizens, Condition of

Citizens, who excited one another to recover their Liberties, whilst Piero's Adherents, struck with Terror, did not dare to take up Arms, or even offer any Thing in his Defence. The Republic was not able to defend Pisa and Liverno, and tho' they were not confident that they could remove the King from keeping those Fortresses, yet, to separate the Counfels of the Government from those of Piero, that at least it might not be taken for granted that the Power of the Public was vested in a private Person, they immediately fent a numerous Ambassy to his Majesty, chusing the most disaffected to the Grandeur of the Medici. Piero, well imagining that this was the first Step towards a Change of Government, took Leave of the King under a Pretence of feeing executed what he had agreed to, but in reality to endeavour with his Presence to put a Stop to those growing Disorders.

AT the same Time that Charles moved from Sarzana towards Pifa, Lodovico returned to Milan, having first, with a Sum of Money, obtained the Investiture of Genoa

Genoa for himself and Descendants, tho A. D. it had been a few Years before granted to Giovanni Galeazzo and his Heirs: Not-withstanding which he departed distaissied, because the King had refused, contrary to his former Promise, to let him put Garrisons of his own Men into Pietra Santa and Sarzana, which, as they might facilitate his Acquisition of Pisa, a Project ever in his Thoughts, he pretended did belong to Genoa, but had been unjustly seized by the Florentines a few Years before.

As foon as Piero arrived at Florence, he found the Minds of most of the Magistrates exasperated against him, and even a Coldness in his best Friends; angry, no doubt, that he had so imprudently transacted Matters of the utmost Consequence contrary to their Advice.

THE Citizens, in general, were highly incensed, and the next Day, the 9th of November, as he was going into the Palace where the supreme Magistracy resided, he was ordered by Jacopo Nerli, a noble and wealthy Youth, who at the Head of some others of

the

A. D. the Magistracy stood armed at the Gates, not to enter. This Report being spread all over the Town, the Populace in an Instant took up Arms, and were the more enraged upon hearing that, at Piero's Instance, Pagolo Orsini was coming with his Men at Arms to his Affistance. Piero, destitute of Courage and Counsel, finding he could not get Admittance into the Palace, returned to his own House, where being informed that the Magistracy had declared him a Rebel, he flew with the greatest Precipitation to Bologna, whither he was followed by his two Brothers, Giovanni the Cardinal, and Giuliano, who were also attainted.

GIOVANNI BENTIVOGLIO, who governed Bologna, expecting to find in others that Constancy of Mind, which he was not afterwards Master of himself in his Adversities, at the Sight of Piero reproached him bitterly for his Cowardice; upbraiding him also with the bad Example he gave to others who had oppressed the Liberty of their Country, by retiring so shamefully, and relinquishing so much Power and Authority

thority without striking a Blow. Thus, A. D. thro' the Rashness of an inconsiderate Youth, the Family of the Medici fell for the present from an almost sovereign Power, which they had exercised in Florence, for fixty Years successively; a Power first exercifed, and by Permission, in a manner, of the Republic, by Cofimo, Piero's Great Grand-Father, a Citizen of fingular Prudence, and immense Riches; for which he was renowned in all Parts of Europe, but more so for his Magnificence, Liberality, and truly Royal Soul: For as he had more at Heart the immortalizing his Name, than providing for his Descendants, he expended above Four Hundred Thoufand Ducats in building Churches, Monafteries, and other fumptuous Edifices, not only in his own Country, but in many other Parts of the World. His Grand-Son Lorenzo, a Man of excellent Abilities, and a great Statesman, was not less generous, tho' not fo rich; and had a more abfolute Power, tho' his Life was of a shorter Duration. The Italians, in general, and several foreign Princes, paid a great Regard to the Wisdom of his Counsels, the Want

A, D. Want of which more clearly appeared foon after his Death, for with him all Friend-fhip and Concord in Italy feemed to expire.

THE fame Day the Change of Government was made in Florence the Pisans in a popular Manner prefented themselves before the King, and, supported by some of the Courtiers, who affirmed their Request was just, begged his Majesty to restore them to their Liberty, which had been usurped by the Ilorentines, under whose cruel Treatment, and arrogant Dominion they had long groaned. The King, not rightly weighing the Importance of their Petition, but following the Advice of some of his Council, answered, contrary to his Agreement at Sarzana, that they should be fatisfied. On which the People immediately took up Arms, pulled down from the public Places all the Florentine Standards, and very eagerly afferted their Liberty. The King, however, inconfiftent with himself, hardly knowing what he had granted, ordered the Florentine Magiffrates to remain, and exercise their usual Jurisdiction,

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183' A. D. 1494.

Jurisdiction, and at the same time gave the old Castle to the Custody of the *Pisans*, ckeeping for himself the new Citadel of much more Importance.

THESE Events at Florence and Pifa confirm the Proverb, "That Men, when their ill Fate approaches, lose that Prudence which would have enabled them to prevent their evil Destiny." The Florentines, always distrustful of the Faith of the Pisans, though they had Reason to expect this Revolution, did not fummon, as they usually did on the least Occasion, great Numbers of the principal Men of Pifa to come to Florence; nor did Piero de' Medici, in so great a Danger, fortify the Market Place and the Palace with foreign Guards, as had been often practifed on trivial Accidents, which Provisions would have put an effectual Stop to these Changes. But in these Affairs of Pisa, it is manifest that the Authority of Lodovico, who had carried on private Intelligence for this Purpose with some Pisans that were banished for their private Misdemeanors, gave Rise to

this

A. D. this Revolt of the Pifans, who are by Nature very great Enemies of the Florentine Name. And the same Day Galeazzo San Severino, his Minister, who accompanied the King, incited the People to this Tumult, which Lodovico expected would foon reduce that City to his Obedience; little' thinking, in how short a Time after, this Revolution would prove the Occasion of all his Miseries.

> IT is likewise well known, that some of the Pifans communicating the Night before their Intentions to the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, he, who, perhaps, never before had been the Author of pacific Counfels, very gravely told them, they ought not to be carried away with a fuperficial Notion at the Beginning of Things, but should maturely weigh what Consequences they might in Process of Time produce. He observed to them that Liberty was precious, and much to be coveted, nay at all Events to be procured, when there was any Appearance of maintaining it: But that Pifa, a City depopulated and poor, was not in a Condition to defend

defend itself against the superior Force of A. D. the Florentines: That it was a very fal- 1494. lacious Way of reasoning to promise themselves that the Authority of the French King would be fufficient to preferve them: For allowing the Florentine Money to be less prevailing than it was, yet the Articles of Sarzana were fo much in the King's Favour, that he could not continue to affift them for any Tlme: Besides, the French were not always to be in Italy, and if from past Events we may form Conjectures of the future, it would be very imprudent to hazard being exposed to continual Dangers, without a Prospect of continual Refources to oppose them, and with uncertain Hopes to enter into a certain War with a more powerful Neighbour, without being able to affure themselves of any real Succours; because they depended on the Will of others, and, what is more, upon many various Accidents to which human Affairs are liable: And should they even obtain them, this would not avert, but rather increase the Calamities of a War; for they would be then annoyed by the Soldiers of the Enemy, and

for these last would consider, that they did not fight for their own, but for the Empire of another; the Consequence of which must be, that they would only change one Slavery for another: For no Prince would chuse to be at the Trouble and Expence of a War, which, on account of the Riches and Vicinity of the Florentines, who, whilst they had any Spirit lest, would never cease to molest them, could not be carried on without vast Difficulty. During this Confusion, Charles departed from Pisa towards Florence, not well determined in himself how to act with the Pisans.

Tumults in that City, where the People had not laid down their Arms fince the Expuision of *Piero de' Medici*; and that he might be joined by *Aubigni*, for whom

He halted at Signa, Seven Miles from Florence, to give Time for allaying the

he had fent, in order to make his Entry into Florence with the greater Terror; and had ordered him to leave behind the Ar-

tillery at Castro Caro, to dismiss the Five Hundred Italian Men at Arms, which

were

were in his Pay in Romagna, and also A. D. those of the Duke of Milan; so that of Sforza's Men the King was accompanied only by Count Gajazzo, and Three Hundred Light Horse.

By many Indications it was conjectured, that the King's Intention was to induce the Florentines by the Terror of his Arms to yield him the absolute Dominion of their City; nor could he fufficiently difguife this Defign to their Ambaffadors. who feveral times made their Application to him at Signa to settle the Manner of his Entry, and put the finishing Hand to the Treaty in Agitation. Charles was, no doubt, greatly irritated against the Florentines, and highly resented the Opposition made, though it was plain the Republic had no Hand in it, and the City had been very follicitous to vindicate itself against the Charge: But their Justification was not admitted, because his Ministers, as was imagined, thought it would be an Error in Politics to lose the Opportunity of feizing on fo important a Town; whilst others, moved by Avarice, expecting to VOL. I. enrich

A. D. enrich themselves with the Plunder, fomented the King's Indignation. And the whole Army was clamorous, and eager to have them punished as an Example to others for being the first in Italy who had presumed to resist the Power of France. There were not also wanting several of the chief Men in his Council, who perfuaded him to restore Piero de' Medici. particularly Monf. Brefcia, Brother to the Duke of Savoy, who was induced by private Tyes of Friendship and Promises; so that the King, either moved by the Perfuafions of those Counsellors, in Oppofition to the Bishop of St. Malo, or hoping to terrify the Florentines into a Compliance with his Will, or that he might have the fairer Opportunity of taking what Part he thought fit on any fudden Emergency, wrote a Letter to Piero, and ordered Monf. Filippo to write him another, inviting him to come into the Neighbourhood of Florence, where, in confideration of the good Disposition he had shewn in delivering up the Forts, and of the Friendship which had subsisted betwixt their Fathers, it had been resolved to reinstate him corrien

# THE WARS IN ITALY.

him in his Authority. The Letters did A. D. not find him at Bologna, as the King had 1494. imagined; for Piero, affronted at the rough Speeches of Bentivoglio, and apprehenfive of being pursued by the Duke of Milan, and, perhaps, by the King of France, attended by his ill Fate, was departed for Venice, whither the Letters were forwarded by the Cardinal his Brother, who had staid at Bologna.

In Florence they were very jealous of the King's Intentions; but as they found themselves without Forces, or Hopes to make an Opposition, it was thought adviseable, as less dangerous, to admit him into the Town, hoping by fome means or other to appeare him. To be prepared, however, against all Events, they ordered many of the Citizens to fill their Houses privately with Country People of the Florentine Dominions, and, diffembling the Reafon, commanded the General Officers in their Pay to come into Florence with a good Number of their Soldiers, and all their Subjects, both in Town and Neighbourhood, to be alert and ready to take up A. D. Arms at the Toll of the great Bell of the public Palace.

THE King made his Entry in great Pomp, at the Head of his Army, on Horseback, the French and the Florentines vying with each other in Magnificence. His Majesty appeared like a Conqueror, his Horse as well as himself in Armour, with his erected Lance resting on his Thigh. A Treaty was immediately fet on Foot, but attended with many Difficulties: For besides the immoderate Regard professed by many of the King's Followers to Piero de' Medici, and the exorbitant Demands of Money, Charles openly required the Dominion of Florence; alledging that, by coming in that armed Manner, he had gained it lawfully according to the Rules of War practifed by the French. At last he receded from this Point, but yet infifted upon leaving behind him Deputies of the long Robe, a Name given in France to Doctors and gowned Men. By this Means, according to the French Institution, he might have pretended to be invested with a perpetual

petual Kind of Jurisdiction. On the A. D. contrary, the Florentines were most obstinately bent to preserve their Liberty entire in spite of all Dangers. In treating with fuch different Views and Interests, the Spirits of each Party became more and more heated and irritated, yet neither of them shewed any Inclination to decide the Controversy by the Sword. For the Florentine People, who had Time out of Mind applied themselves to mercantile Affairs, and knew little of military Exercifes, and had within their Walls a very powerful King with fo great an Army, composed of strange and fierce Nations, stood in vast Awe and Dread. On the other hand, the French were under no fmall Apprehensions of a very numerous People, who had shewn greater Signs of desperate Boldness on the Day that the Government was changed than could have been imagined: Besides, it was rumoured, that at the Toll of the great Bell an innumerable Multitude of Men was to pour in upon them from all the circumjacent Country; and the mutual Fear in which they stood one of another being augmented

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### THE HISTORY OF

A. D. by false Reports, each Side tumultuously ran to Arms, but never came to Blows nor gave any Provocation.

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THE King's Scheme concerning Piera de' Medici did not succeed: For Piero, divided betwixt the Hopes of being restored, and Fear of being delivered up to his Adversaries, produced his Letters to the Venetian Senate, desiring their Advice. Nothing certainly is more necessary, and at the same Time more dangerous in weighty and momentous Reflections, than to ask Advice; not is it to be doubted but that Counsel is less necessary to the Prudent than to the Imprudent; and yet that the Wife reap very confiderable Advantage from Advice. For where is the Man of fuch confummate Prudence, as always to confider and understand every thing of himself, and amidst a Contrariety of Reasons to discern always the best? Again, what Affurance has he who demands Counfel of being faithfully advised? For he who gives Counsel, if he be not very faithful or affectionate to the Person who consults him, will be induced not only on every interest-

ing Occasion, but by every small Advan- A. D. tage, for every flight Satisfaction, frequently to direct his Advice to the End which best answers his Purpose, or suits his Temper; and those Motives being oftentimes unknown to him who wants Advice, it requires a good Share of Prudence to discover the Perfidiousness of such Counsel. This was the Case of Piero de' Medici, for the Venetians apprehending that his Return would facilitate the King's Defigns to reduce the Affairs of the Florentines to his own Management, which, for their own Interest, would be extremely disagreeable to them, and confulting themselves rather than Piero, effectually perfuaded him not to trust his Person in the Power of the King, who thought himself injured by him. And to work upon him the more effectually to follow their Advice, they offered to take the Charge of his Affairs, and to lend him, when the Times would permit, their Affistance for restoring him to his Country. And not content with this, if it be true what was afterwards reported, they very fecretly placed a Guard upon

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194 A. D. upon him, to prevent his leaving Venice at that Juncture.

> Bur in the mean Time the Animofities in Florence increased on all Sides, and were almost come to an open Rupture: The King would not recede from his last Demands, and the Republic was refolved not to give the intolerable Sums he required, nor confent to allow him any Sort of Jurisdiction or Pre-eminence in their State.

> THESE Difficulties, thought unfurmountable without the Force of Arms, were at last removed by the Courage and Resolution of Piero Capponi, one of the Citizens appointed to treat with the King; a Man of great Spirit, and highly esteemed in Florence on account of these Qualifications, and because he was by Birth of an honourable Family and descended from Persons who had born a considerable Swav in the Republic. Capponi and his Colleagues being one Day in the King's Prefence, while one of the royal Secretaries was reading over the immoderate Articles which

which were proposed as the ultimate Pro- A. D. positions on the King's Part, he fell in a Paffion, and violently fnatching the Paper out of the Secretary's Hand, tore it to Pieces before the King's Face; adding in a high Tone of Voice, "Since you demand fuch dish onourable Conditions, sound your Trumpets, and we will found our Bells:" By which he intended as much as if he had faid in plain Words, "Let the Differences be decided by Arms." With this Speech, and with the same Air of Indignation, followed by his Colleagues, he abruptly left the Room. Certain it is, that these Words, from the Mouth of a Citizen known to Charles and the whole Court, for but a few Months before he had been the Florentine Ambaffador in France, struck them all with such Astonishment, especially as they did not believe that he durst be so bold without a Cause, that they called him back, and defifting from those Demands which had been refused, an Agreement was made between the King and the Florentines, to the following Purport: That, all past Offences being forgiven, the City of Florence should be regarded

A. D. garded as a Friend and Confederate, and receive perpetual Protection of the Crown of France: That the King for his Security should keep in his Hands the City of Pifa, and the Town of Livorno, with all their Forts, but be obliged to restore them without any Expence to the Florentines, as foon as he should have finished his Enterprize on the Kingdom of Naples; which was understood to be finished, whenever the King should have reduced the City of Naples, or made a Composition by a Peace, or by a Truce for at least two Years, or should, for any other Reason, withdraw his Person out of Italy: That the Governors should at present take an Oath to restore the faid Places, on any one of the abovementioned Events; and that in the mean Time, the Dominion, Jurisdiction, Government, and Revenues of the faid Towns should belong to the Florentines as before: The fame Conditions to be observed with regard to Pietra Santa, Sarzana, and Sarzanello; but as to the Pretensions of the Genoese on those Places, it should be left to the King to procure a Decision of their Differences either by Agreement or by Justice,

Justice, but if they were not terminated by A. D. him within the above-mentioned Time, he should restore them to the Florentines: That the King might leave in Florence two Ambaffadors without whose Intervention nothing should come under Debate concerning the faid Enterprize while it lasted. nor should the Republic have any Power to chuse a Captain-General of their own Troops, within the faid Term, without his Participation. That all the other Towns which had been taken, or had rebelled, should immediately be restored to the Florentines, who were permitted to recover them by Force of Arms, if they should refuse to receive them: That within fifteen Days they should present the King with a Subfidy of 50,000 Ducats towards his Expedition, 40,000 more in March, and 30,000 in June: That the Rebellion of the Pisans, and all other Offences committed fince, should be pardoned: That Piero de' Medici, and his two Brothers should have their Attainder reversed, and their Effects restored, on condition that Piero should not approach within a Hundred Miles of the Borders of the Republic, (this

A. D. (this was designed to prevent his settling in Rome) nor his Brothers within a Hundred of the City of Florence. These were the principal Articles of the Convention between the King and the Florentines, which, after Stipulation according to Form of Law, were published with great Ceremony in the Cathedral in Time of Divine Service, where the King, at whose Instance this was done, and the Magistrates of the City, prostrated before the high Altar, solemnly swore to observe them, in the Presence of the Court and all the People of Florence.

Two Days after Charles left Florence, where he had stayed ten Days, and proceeded to Siena. This City was in Confederacy with the King of Naples, and the Florentines, and had submitted to their Authority till the Journey of Piero to Sarzana obliged the Citizens to consult their own Sasety amongst themselves. The City of Siena is populous, has a fertile Territory, and, next to Florence, had long obtained the Name of the most powerful State in Tuscany: It was governed by its own Magistrates, but in such a Manner, that the

Citizens were rather amused and pleased A. D. with the Name of Liberty, than enjoyed the Effects of it: For the People, divided into a Multitude of Factions or Bodies, by them called Orders, submitted to that Party which, according to the Events of the Times, or by Favour of foreign Potentates, was most powerful. At this Time the Order of the Monte del Nove was uppermost.

CHARLES, after staying a very few Days at Siena, left a Garrison, because that City was known in antient Times to be devoted to the Empire, and therefore sufpected. He then directed his March towards Rome, growing every Day more and more infolent from his Successes, hitherto far beyond Expectation: As the Season was fair and favourable more than usual for the Time of the Year, he determined, without loss of Time, to pursue his good Fortune: He was now become terrible not only to his avowed Enemies, but also to his Allies, as well as to those who had given him no Sort of Provocation. For both the Venetian Senate, and the Duke 200

A. D. Duke of Milan, astonished at this Rapidity, imagined, especially, by the King's taking Possession of the Florentine Castles, and leaving a Guard in Siena, that his Thoughts did not terminate in the Acquisition of Naples: Therefore, to obviate the common Danger, they began to treat among themselves of a new Confederacy, which they would sooner have brought to Perfection, if, as many had expected, Charles had met with a greater Resistance at Rome.

Days at Genra, left e Carriton; because that

It had been settled, that the Duke of Calabria, who was join'd by the Pope's Troops in the Neighbourhood of Rome, and by Virginio Orsini with the Remainder of the Aragonian Army, should make a Stand at Viterbo, to prevent the King from advancing; which Place was very proper for that Purpose, besides other Reasons because it was surrounded by the Pope's Territories, and lay near the States of the Orsini. But all the Country about Rome being in Consusion by the Excursions of the Colonnas from the other Side the Tyber, and the Impediments which from Ostia were laid on Convoys

the Convoys of Provisions which were used A. D. to be brought by Sea to Rome, the Duke had not Resolution enough to wait at Viterbo: Besides he doubted very much of the Pope's Intentions; for ever fince the Revolution of Piero de' Medici's Affairs, he had begun to listen to French Proposals, which were brought him by Cardinal Ascanio, who, before he would venture to come to Rome. infifted on the Pope's fending to Marino, a Town of the Colonnas, his Son the Cardinal of Valenza, as a Pledge for his Security. Ascanio left Rome without bringing Alexander to any Determination: For he was divided between a Diffidence of the King's real Intentions towards him, and the Fear of his Forces: Yet as foon as Charles was set out from Florence, he had begun again to treat of an Agreement, and fent to him the Bishops of Concordia and Terni, and Doctor Grationo his Confessor, with Instructions to agree at the same Time for himself and for Alfonso. But the King's Intention was different, for he was determined to agree only with the Pope, and therefore, changing his Mind, fent to him Monf. de la Tremouille, and the President Gannay.

A. D. Gannay. Cardinals Ascanio, and Pro-1494 spero Colonna came to Rome on this Occasion: But the Pope, immediately on their Arrival, whatever might be the Cause, sent for the Duke of Calabria to come into Rome with his whole Army, and ordered them immediately to be arrested, and conveyed to the Mole of Adrian, formerly called Castle Crescentio, now Castle Sant' Angelo, demanding of them the Restitution of Osia. During these Tumults the Aragonians secured the French Ambasfadors: But they were immediately releafed by the Pope's Commands, as were also in a few Days Ascanio and Prospero, but with an Injunction to quit Rome that Instant. He then fent to the King, who had halted at Nepi, Cardinal San Severino, with a Commission to treat of his own particular Affairs, yet with a very irresolute Mind; sometimes he resolved to stay in Rome and defend himself, and then was pleased to see Ferdinando and the Generals fortify the weakest Places; at others, judging that Measure impracticable on account of the Want of Provisions, which were intercepted by the Garrison of Ofia, the

the incredible Number of Strangers, unfettled in their Opinions, and the various
Factions amongst the Romans, he inclined
to abandon that City, and obliged all the
Cardinals to give it under their Hands to
follow him: Then, alarmed at the Difficulties and imminent Dangers, he would
shrink from his last Resolution, and again
embrace a Scheme of Composition.

BUT whilft he was in this Uncertainty, the French made Excursions on this Side the Tiber all over the Country, feizing fometimes on one Village, fometimes on another; and their Progress was so rapid, that none of those little Places offered to make any Resistance, but all gave way to their Violence, and their Example was followed by others, who had very good Reasons for opposing them. Even Virginio himself, though bound by so many Ties of Faith, Obligations and Honours to the House of Aragon, being Captain-General of the royal Army, Great Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, and allied to Alfonso by a very near Affinity, his Son, Gian Giordano, being married to a VOL. I. natural

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1494.

A. D. natural Daughter of the late King Ferdinando, and who had received of them States in their Kingdom, and so many Benefactions, yet, forgetting all these Favours, and that the Calamities of the Aragonians owed their first Rife to the espousing his Interest, thought it no Crime, if he remained himself in the Service of the King of Naples, to permit his Children to agree with the King of France. This was a furprifing Step, and which amazed the French, who were not accustomed to the fubtle Distinctions of the Italian Soldiery. It was stipulated, that the King's Troops should be received, victualled, and have a free Passage through Virginio's Dominions that were in the Pope's Territories: And to deposite Campagnano with some other Villages in the Hands of Cardinal de Gurce, who promifed to restore them, as soon as the Army should leave the Roman Territory: And Count Pitigliano, with others of the Orfini Family, came into the

Charles agrees with the Orfini.

> As foon as these Conditions were figned, Charles quitted Nepi, and removed to Bracciano,

fame Agreement.

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

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tiano, the principal Town in Virginio's A. D. Jurisdiction; and though the Season was unfavourable, and the Difficulties were in-Progress creased, he dispatched Mons. de Ligni of the French. and Ives d'Alegre, with Five Hundred Lances, and Two Thousand Swifs to Oftia, with Orders to pass the Tiber, join the Colonnas, who scoured all the Country, and force their Way into Rome; which they had good Reason to hope they might compass, by the Affistance of the Romans of their own Faction. By this Time Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and at last all the Roman Territory was reduced to the Devotion of the French, which so alarmed the Romans, that all the Court, and all the Roman People cried out eagerly for an Accommodation.

THE Pope, therefore, having brought his Affairs to a very dangerous Crisis, and finding every Day less Probability of making an effectual Defence, would have willingly submitted; but then, considering he had been one of the first who incited the King to undertake this Expedition, and afterwards, without any Provocation, had Q 2 employed

A. D. employed his Authority, Counfel and Arms to make an obstinate Resistance, he. reasonably concluded, that the King would no more keep his Word with him, than he himself had kept his with the King. Pope em. His Terror was increased on observing that barrassed. the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, and many other Cardinals his Enemies, were in high Authority with Charles, at whose Persuasion, and in regard to his Name of Most Christian, together with the known Steadiness of the French in religious Engagements, and from the Expectations which are always greater from those who are known to us only by Name, he feared Charles would attempt to reform the Abuses in the Church, as was then the common Subject of Discourse. This Thought was above all Things terrible to Alexander, when he recollected in what an infamous Manner he had mounted the Throne, and how he had continued to exercise his Function by Manners and Arts entirely answerable to so detestable a Beginning. However, his Suspicions were somewhat abated by the Diligence and efficacious Promises of the King, who,

above

above all Things defirous to hasten his A. D. March to Naples, was willing to remove all Difficulties that the Pope might give him, and therefore fent anew three Ambaffadors, the Seneschal of Beaucaire, the Marshal de Gie, and the President Gannay. They endeavoured to persuade his Holinefs, that it was not the King's Intention to interest himself in what concerned the Pontifical Power; but being defirous of entering Rome, demanded nothing more than what was necessary for his Security of paffing forwards, and made Instances that he would freely confent to the King's Entrance into Rome, which he had much at Heart, not because it was not in his Power to effect it by Force, but because he might not lie under a Necessity of failing in the due Respect which his Ancestors had ever paid to the Dignity of the Roman Pontiffs: That immediately upon the King's Entrance he would find all their Differences converted into the most fincere Love and Friendship.

ALEXANDER was greatly troubled at these Demands, to comply with which Q 3 was,

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A. D. was, in reality, to deprive himself at once of the Affistance of his Friends, and put himself entirely in the Power of an Enemy, by receiving him into Rome before he had fettled his Affairs with him: Yet, at last, finding that of all the Dangers the confenting to these Demands was the least, he ordered the Duke of Calabria and his Army to quit Rome, having first obtained a Pass from the King of France, that he might retire with Safety out of the Ecclefiastical State. But Ferdinando, with Contempt refusing the Pass, marched through the Gate of San Sebastian the last Day of the Year, 1494, at the same Instant of Time that the French Army entered the Gate del Popolo, with the King at their Head, armed, with his Lance on his Thigh, in the same Manner that he entered Florence.

French enter Rome.

> THE Pope, full of Anxiety and Fear, 1495. had retired into Castel Sant' Angelo, accompanied by none of the Cardinals except Battista Orsini, Ulivieri, and Caraffa, a Neapolitan. But the Cardinals del Vincola, Afcanio, those of the Colonna Family,

and

and Savelli, with many others, reforted A. D. to the King, and preffed him to move from the Pontifical See a Pope loaded Cardinals with fuch Vices as rendered him odious Degradaand detestable to the whole World, and to tion of the procure another Election. They reprefented that it would not be less glorious for him to free the Church of God from the Tyranny of a wicked Pope, than it was for Pepin and Charlemagne, his Ancestors, to free the Popes of holy Life from the Perfecution of their unjust Oppressors. They laboured to convince him, that this was not less necessary for his own Safety than defireable for his Glory. For how could he ever trust to the Promises of Alexander, a Man by Nature fraudulent, infatiable in his ambitious Defires, shameless in all his Actions, and, as Experience taught, bearing an implacable Hatred to the French; and that his Reconciliation at this Juncture was not voluntary, but extorted by Necessity and Fear. The King, induced by these Arguments, as also because the Pope, amongst other Conditions, refused to deliver up Castel Sant' Angelo, which was demanded as a Pledge for the Q 4 Performance

A. D. Performance of his Promises, twice gave

1495. Orders for the Artillery to be brought
from the Palace of San Marco, where he
lodged, and planted against the said Castle.
But Charles was not inclined by Nature to
offend the Pope; wherefore those had the
greatest Sway in his Privy Council who
had been corrupted by Gifts and Promises
into Alexander's Interest, and at last a
Treaty was concluded on these Conditions:

Articles between the Pope and the King of France.

THAT there should be a perpetual Amity and Confederacy between the Pope and the King for their mutual Defence: That for his Security the Castles of Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and Spoleti (though this last was never given up) should be configned to him, but restored on the Reduction of Naples: That Alexander should bury in Oblivion all Injuries received from those Cardinals and Barons who were Subjects of the Church, give him the Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples, and deliver to him Gemin the Ottoman. It is, it feems, a cruel Custom among the Turks for a new Sovereign to establish his Empire with the Blood of his Brothers or nearest Relations.

Wherefore

1495.

Wherefore Gemin, after the Death of his A. D. Father Mahomet, to avoid the cruel Persecution of his Brother Bajazet, who wanted to destroy him, had retired to Rhodes, from whence he was fent into France, and at last put into the Power of Pope Innocent\*. Bajazet, taking the Advantage of the Avarice of the Popes, in order to keep his Empire in Peace with the Christian Powers, paid annually to Alexander, under the Pretext of Alimony, and Charges of guarding him, Forty Thousand Ducats, as an Inducement not to fet him at Liberty, or deliver him up to other Princes that might be his Adversaries. Charles's Drift in demanding Gemin was to facilitate his Undertaking against the Turks, which, elated with vain Adulation, he had refolved on, as foon as he should have brought the Neapolitans under his Obedience. The King's Officers had seized in Romagna the last Forty Thousand Ducats, remitted by Bajazet, which were in the Hands of the Prefect of Rome at Senigaglia: The King

\* Gemin fled to Rhodes for Shelter, but Pierre Dubuiffon, the Grand Master, on his Arrival, put him in Prifon, and afterwards fent him well guarded into Provence. from whence he was carried to Rome,

Pope's

of the

France.

A. D. now infifted that no Restitution should be 1495required, or Censures inflicted on account of that Affair. By the last Article it was stipulated, that the Cardinal of Valenza should follow the King, as Apostolical Legate, for three Months; the Defign of which was, that he should remain as an Hostage for the Performance of his Father's Engagements.

This Agreement being figned, the Pope returned to the Pontifical Palace of the Vatican, and with the Pomp and Ceremonies, usual on such solemn Occasions, for the Reception of great Kings, he received the Reception King in St. Peter's Church, where, first King of on his Knees, according to ancient Custom, he kiffed his Holiness's Feet, and then his Face. Another Day he affifted at the Pontifical Mass, and took his Place, which was after the first Cardinal Bishop, and, according to the antient Rites, ferved the Water when the Pope washed his Hands. Alexander, to perpetuate the Memory of this Action, had it painted in a Gallery of Castel Sant' Angelo. He also, at the King's Request, created Cardinals the Bishops

### THE WARS IN ITALY.

Bishops of St. Malo, and Mans, the last a A. D. Prelate of the Luxembourg Family, and gave him all the Demonstrations of a fincere and faithful Reconciliation,

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CHARLES Staid in Rome about a Month. all the while fending Troops to the Borders of the Kingdom of Naples, which was full of Combustions: Before he left Kingdom Rome, Aquila and the greatest Part of the of Naples Abruzzi had declared for him, and fet up his Standard, and Fabritio Colonna had seized on the Districts of Albi and Tagliacozzo. Nor were there less Disturbances in other Parts of the Kingdom: For as foon as Ferdinando had quitted Rome, the Effects of the People's Hatred to Alfonso began to appear: The bad Usage they had fo lately received from old Ferdinando was fresh in their Memory: They exclaimed vehemently against the tyrannical Oppresfion they had fuffered under the late Kings, and of the Cruelty and Pride of Alfonso: They openly testified their Joy for the Arrival of the French; so that the Reliques of the old Anjouin Faction, tho' joined to the Memory of the Im-

## THE HISTORY OF

214 Imprisonment and Banishment of so many Barons at various Times by Ferdinando, a Conduct ever a powerful Inducement to effect Alterations in Governments, yet they were nothing in Comparison with other Causes; so ardent was the Disposition of all the People against Alfonso without other Motives.

Alfonso in nation.

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As foon as the News of Ferdinando's a Confer-quitting Rome reached Naples, Alfonso was feized with fuch a Panic, that, forgetful of the great Fame and Glory acquired by his long Experience in the Wars of Italy, and despairing to weather so great a Storm, he at once resolved to abandon his Kingdom, and renounce his Title and Authority, in favour of Ferdinando. He had, perhaps, some Hopes that himself, who was so odious, being removed, and his Son, a young Prince of great Expectation, become King; a Prince, who for his Goodness was no ways obnoxious, but rather loved by the People, fuch a Change might allay the great Eagerness of revolting to the French; a Measure which if anticipated might have

### THE WARS IN ITALY.

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produced some Effect, but being deferred A. D. to a Time in which Affairs were not only 1495. in a vehement Commotion, but on the Brink of Defolation, was no longer sufficient to prevent so great a Ruin.

A REPORT prevailed, (if we may give any Credit to fuch Reports without the Imputation of Superstition) that the Ghost of old Ferdinando appeared three different Nights to Jacopo, chief Surgeon to the Court, and first with mild Words, but afterwards with many Threats, ordered him to go to Alfonso, and tell him in his Name to relinquish all Hopes of refisting the French, it being decreed that his Progeny, after experiencing Misfortunes innumerable and various, should at last be stript of so famous a Kingdom, and the Family extinguished: That the only Cause was their numberless Enormities. especially that aggravated Barbarity which at Alfonso's Instigation he had committed near Naples, in the Church of San Leonardo in Chiaia, when he returned from Pozzuolo: As no other Particulars were mentioned, it

Alfonso abdicates

dom.

A, D. was conjectured that Alfonso had privately persuaded him to put to Death in that Place feveral Barons, who had been detained a long Time in Prison. But be that as it will, certain it is, Alfonfo, tormented both Day and Night with Remorfes of Conscience, could get no Rest, the Ghosts of these murdered Barons representing themselves to him in his Sleep, with the People in a Tumult, ready to take Vengeance. Almost distracted with these Reflections, he refolved at once to quit his his King-Kingdom; imparting the Secret only to the Queen, his Mother-in-law, who could not prevail with him to wait a few Days. In vain she pressed him to consult his Brother and his Son; he was obstinate, and went on board one of the four light Gallies which he had loaded with Treasure a few Days before he had compleated the first Year of his Reign: But he shewed in parting as much Fear, as if he had been furrounded by the French, and starting at the least Noise, as tho' Heaven and the Elements had conspired in League against

him, he fled to Mazara, a Town in Sicily,

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217 given him some Time before by Ferdinan- A. D. do King of Spain.

THE King of France, in fetting out Charles from Rome, received the News of this fets out from Rome, Flight: When he came to Velletri, Cardinal Valenza eloped from him, and tho' the Pope put on an Air of Resentment, and offered any Satisfaction, yet it was thought he escaped by his Direction, that he might have it in his Power to perform or not his late Agreement. From Velletri the Van marched to Monte Fortino, a Village in the Campaign of Rome, and subject to Facopo Conti, a Roman Baron, who first followed Charles, but afterwards, out of Hatred to the Colonnas, guided more by Passion than Honour, went into Alfonso's Service. This Place, tho' strongly situated, was by the Force of the Artillery taken in a few Hours, and all the Inhabitants put to the Sword, except three of Jacopo's Children, and a few more, who got into the Citadel, but at the Sight of the Artillery planted against it delivered themselves up Prisoners. The Army afterwards proceeded to Monte San Giovanni, that belonged

A. D. longed to the Marquis of Pescara, seated on the Borders of the Kingdom of Naples, in the fame Campaign, a Place by Situation strong, well fortified, and provided with a numerous Garrison: For there were Three Hundred foreign Foot, and Five Hundred of the Inhabitants determined to defend themselves to the last, which made People imagine the French would be detained here for fome Days. But after firing the Cannon for a few Hours, they gave the Affault in the King's Presence, who was come thither from Veruli, with fo much Bravery, that they overcame all Difficulties, and took it by Storm the fame Day, and prompted by their own natural Fury, and also to set an Example to others not to make any Opposition, made a vast Slaughter, and, after perpetrating all Sorts of Barbarities, they exercifed their Cruelties against the Edifices by fetting them on Fire. This Manner of making War not having been practifed in Italy for many Ages, filled the whole Kingdom with vast Consternation. For hitherto after a Victory, in what Manner foever gained, the Cruelty of the Conquerors

querors proceeded no farther than to strip A. D. the Soldiers, and then fet them at Liberty, to plunder the Places taken by Affault, and make the Inhabitants Prisoners till they had paid what Contribution was demanded; but the Lives of those were always spared who were not killed in the Heat of the Battle. This was all the Opposition and Trouble the King of France met with in the Conquest of so noble and fine a Kingdom, in the Defence of which there was not the least Appearance of Virtue, Courage, Conduct, Thirst of Honour, Strength or Fidelity. The Duke of Calabria, who Ferdinan? after leaving Rome was retired from the do crowns Frontiers of the Kingdom, and after his Father's Flight had been invited to Naples. where he assumed the Authority and Royal Title with the usual Solemnity, tho' not with the usual Pomp and Rejoicings, mustered his Army, that confifted of Fifty Squadrons of Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, all picked Men, under the most renowned Captains in Italy, and made a Stand at San Germano to hinder the Enemy from advancing; which Place he chose for its Situation, it being on one Side VOL. I. covered R

A. D. covered by high and rocky Mountains, on the other protected by a marshy Ground full of Water, and in Front it had the River Garigliano (called Liris by the Antients) tho' not deep enough in that Place to prevent fometimes its being waded. The Narrowness of the Passage of San Germano had defervedly gained it the Name of one of the Keys of the Kingdom of Naples: From hence he fent a Body of Troops to the Top of the Mountain to guard the Pass of Cancelle. But his Army, already frighted at the Name of the French fhewed no Sort of Resolution; for some of the Leaders were more concerned for the Safety of their Persons and Estates, than for that of the Kingdom, which they confidered as loft, whilst others, desirous of Novelty, began to waver, not only in their Fidelity, but in their Courage. Nor were they without Apprehensions that, the whole Kingdom being in a high Ferment, the People might make fome dangerous Commotion. Their Courage being overcome by these abject Considerations, as foon as Monte San Giovanni was taken, hearing that Marshal Gie was marching towards

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

wards them with Three Hundred Lances A. D. and Two Thousand Foot, they shamefully quitted San Germano, and in such Consternation, that they left on the Road Eight Pieces of large Cannon, and retired to Capua.

THE new King, trusting to the Love which the Inhabitants of that Town had professed to the Family of Aragon, do and his and to the Strength of the Situation, it Army in being fronted by the River Vulturno, of a great Depth in that Place, hoped he should be able to defend it, and by keeping his whole Force together, without leffening his Army by Detachments for other Places, that he might be able to preserve Naples and Gaeta. The French did not follow him in an united Body, but dispersed; proceeding rather as if they were on a Journey than a March: Every one straggled where he thought he could get most Plunder, and advanced without Colours, Order or Command; yet they kept fo close to the Enemy, that commonly some of the French at Night took up their Quarters in the same Villages that had R 2 been

A. D. been quitted in the Morning by the Aragonians.

Bur at Capua there was neither more Refolution, or better Fortune: For no fooner had Ferdinando lodged his Army there (which, fince the Retreat from San Germano, was very much diminished) than he received Letters from the Queen, acquainting him, that the Loss of San Germano had occasioned such a Tumult in Naples, that unless he came in Person there was Danger of a Tumult. Ferdinando, after promifing to return to Capua the next Day, took with him a few Ferdinan Friends, and rode to Naples, in Hopes that his Presence would be fufficient to free him from this Danger: But Giovanni Yacopo Trivulzi, to whom he left the Care of the City, had already underhand defired the King of France to fend him a Herald, under whose Convoy he might approach his Majesty with Safety, on whose Arrival he, with some of the Gentry of Capua, went to Calvi, where the King was just arrived; notwithstanding that many others in the Town, who were disposed

do goes to Noples.

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disposed to preserve their Allegiance to A. D. Ferdinando, with high Words opposed this Procedure.

TRIVULZI came in his Armour, and being immediately introduced to his Majesty in that Array, spoke in the Name of the Capuans and Soldiers to this Purpose: That Ferdinando, whom they had ever ferved faithfully, whilft there were any Hopes left, not being any longer in a Condition to defend them, they were come to a Resolution to follow his Fortune, provided they were allowed honourable Conditions; adding, that he did not doubt but he should be able to bring Ferdinando himself to him, if he could be asfured of a Reception suitable to his Dignity. The King very thankfully replied, he accepted the Offers of the Capuans and Soldiers, and should with Pleasure admit Ferdinando, provided he was apprifed that he would not think of retaining any, though ever fo little a Part, of the Kingdom of Naples, but be content with receiving States and Honours in the Kingdom of France.

R 3

224 A. D. 1495.

IT is a Matter of Speculation what should induce Giov. Jacopo Trivulzi, a brave Officer, and one who valued himfelf on being reputed a Man of Honour, to commit so great a Transgression: He himself gave out, that he had acted by Ferdinando's Direction, to try if he could procure fome Composition of his Affairs with the French King. But when he found he was totally excluded from all fuch Hopes, and that the Defence of the Kingdom by Force of Arms was now become impracticable, it feemed to him not only lawful, but commendable to provide in Time for the Safety of the Capuans and Soldiers. But the common Opinion was very different: He was thought to have been defirous of a French Conquest, expecting, after the Reduction of Naples, the King would turn his Arms against the Dutchy of Milan: For Trivulzi was born of a very noble Family at Milan, and not thinking that Lodovico Sforza paid him a Regard fuitable to his Merit, either on account of the immoderate Attention to those of the Family of the San Severini,

difgusted with him: And for this Reason many had suspected that, even at the Time he was with Ferdinando in Romagna, he advised him sometimes to proceed with more Caution than, perhaps, the Occasion required.

BEFORE the Return of Trivulzi, the King's Quarters in Capua had been plundered by his Soldiers, his Horses carried away, and the Men at Arms had begun to disperse themselves in different Places. Virginio and Count Pitigliano, after fending to the French Camp for a Pass for themselves and for their Men, retired with their Regiments to Nola, which Town had been given to the Count by the Aragonians. Ferdinando was returning to Capua at the Time promised, having for the present composed the Neapolitans with the Hopes he had given them of defending that City: He was already come within two Miles of Capua, ignorant of what had passed in his Absence, when the Citizens in general, being apprifed of his Coming, took up Arms to prevent his Entrance, R 4

A. D. Entrance, and by common Confent some of the Nobility were deputed to desire him not to advance any farther, and let him know, that as himself having abandoned their City, Trivulzi General of his Forces being gone over to the King of France, his Quarters plundered by his own Soldiers, Virginio and Count Pitigliano having quitted him, and almost all his Army being dispersed, Self-preservation had put them under a Necessity of submitting to the Conqueror. Ferdinando, after begging in vain, with Tears in his Eyes, to be admitted, returned to Naples, fully perfuaded the rest of the Kingdom would foon follow the Example of Capua, in which he was not mistaken; for Aversa, a City between Capua and Naples, sent immediately their Deputies to Charles, with whom, it was manifest, the Neapolitans began also to treat. Wherefore the unhappy Prince, finding it to no Purpose to oppose such an impetuous Torrent of bad Fortune, fummoned feveral of the Nobility and of the People into the Square of Castel Nuovo, which was the royal Habitation, and harrangued them with these Words.

" I APPEAL to God, and to all those A. D. who have had any Intimacy with me, if the only Reason for which I desired to ascend the Throne, was not to convince the World how much I am displeased and affected with the tyrannical Government of my Father and Grand-Father, and to recover by my good Actions that Love they had loft by their severe Administration: The ill Fate of my Family has not permitted me to gather this Fruit, much more honourable than to be King: For to reign, often depends upon Fortune; but to be a King, and to have no other View in being so than the Good of the Subjects. depends only on personal Virtue. Our Affairs are now reduced into a very narrow Compass, and we have more Reason to complain that we have loft our Kingdom thro'the Infidelity and shameful Cowardice of our Officers and Armies, than our Enemies to boast they have gained it by their own Valour; and yet I should not be destitute of Hopes, if we could make but a little Stand; for the King of Spain, and all the Italian Princes are preparing to come powerfully to our Aid, they having now opened

A. D. opened their Eyes, and being convinced on what they had not before confidered, that the Fire which has broke out in our Kingdom, if not extinguished in Time, will also extend to their States. For my Part I don't want Courage to terminate my Reign and Life at the same Time, with that Glory that becomes a young King, lineally descended from so long a Succesfion of Kings, and the Expectations you have hitherto been pleased to entertain of me. But as this cannot be attempted without exposing our common Country to very great Dangers, I am rather inclined to give Way to bad Fortune, and conceal my Courage and Ardour, than, by endeavouring to preserve the Crown, draw those Miseries on my People, to avoid which only, I defired to reign over them. I advise and intreat you to fend and agree with the King of France; and that you may do it without any Prejudice to your Honour, I freely absolve you from your Homage, and the Oaths of Allegiance, which a few Days fince you took to me: This I counsel you to do, that by your Submission and Readiness to receive him you may strive to mitigate

the natural haughty Spirit of the French. A. D. If their barbarous Customs should render their Government hateful, so as to make you wish for my Return, I shall be at hand to affift you, and always ready to expose my Life in any dangerous Enterprize. But should you find their Administration mild, neither this City or Kingdom shall ever receive any Disturbance from me: The Felicity of my People will assuage my Sufferings, and I shall receive still a greater Satisfaction if I should know you retain in Memory that neither as Prince or King I ever injured any one: That I never gave any Marks of Avarice or Cruelty: That I am not unfortunate through my own, but by my Ancestors Misconduct: That I am determined that none of my Subjects shall suffer for any Attempts I might make to preferve or recover my Kingdom, and that I am more affected at lofing the Opportunity of mending the Faults of my Father and Grand-Father, than at the Loss of my Authority and Royal State. Tho' an Exile, deprived of my Country and Kingdom, I shall not think myself entirely miserable, if I knew you were convinced that these are my real SenA. D. Sentiments, and were perfuaded I should have followed the Example of my Great-Grandfather old Alfonso, and not that of Ferdinando and this last Alfonso.

THIS Speech could not fail of being heard with Compassion, and drew Tears But the Name of the from many. two last Kings was so odious to all the People and to almost all the Nobility, and fo alluring the Defire of a French Government, that the Tumult still continued as high as ever; and as foon as the King was retired into the Castle, the Mob began to pillage his Stables in the Square, an Indignity he could not support: Wherefore he courageously, with a few Courtiers, came out to stop them, and such was the Respect paid, tho' by a rebellious People, to the Majesty of a Royal Name, that they all defifting from their Plunder retired from the Stables; then returning into the Castle he ordered all the Ships in the Harbour to be funk and burnt, that they might not be of Use to the Enemy.

connecty onder the Linew: you obvious income you

HE began by some Tokens to suspect that Five Hundred German Foot, who Ferdinanguarded the Castle, intended to make him do abandons his a Prisoner; wherefore he took a sudden Kingdom. Resolution to make them a Present of all the Effects that were reposited therein, and whilft they were bufy in dividing the Effects, having first set at Liberty all the Barons who escaped the Cruelties of his Father and Grand-father, except the Prince of Rossano, and Count Pepoli, he went out thro' the Postern, on board the light Gallies that waited for him in the Port. He was accompanied by Don Federigo, the old Queen Confort to his Grand-Father, Joanna her Daughter, and a few Domestics, and landed in the Isle of Ischia, called by the Antients Enaria, thirty Miles from Naples, repeating often the Words of the Pfalmist, till he lost the Sight of Naples, "Vain is the Watch of those who guard a City that is not guarded by God." But meeting every where with Difficulties, he was obliged at Ischia to make a Trial of his own Virtue, as also of the Ingratitude and Unfaithfulness which are commonly

A. D. met with by those who suffer under the Frowns of Fortune: For the Governor of the Castle refused to admit him, unless he would come in accompanied only by one of his Followers. He agreed to it, but had no fooner entered the Gates than he feized the Governor, with fuch Violence, that both he and the others were fo terrified at his Fierceness, and the Impression of Royal Authority, that the King foon had the Governor and Castle at his Devotion. When the News was spread of the King's Flight, every one gave way as to a most impetuous Torrent to the fole Fame of the Conqueror; and Virginio and Count Pitigliano, without any Resistance, were made Prisoners at the Place whither they had retired by Two Hundred Horse of Ligni's Regiment, tho' they had with them Four Hundred Men at Arms. They fubmitted, partly apprehending themselves comprized in the Pass which their Friends advised them to procure from the King; and partly being struck with the same Panic as the rest. They were sent Prisoners to

### THE WARSIN ITALY.

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the Castle of Mondragone, and all their Equipages and People were plundered.

In the mean Time the Neapolitan Charles Ambassadors, sent to make a Tender of enters their City to the King, met him at Averfa. Charles very generously granted them many Privileges and Exemptions; and the next Day, which was the Twentyfirst of February, he made his Entry into Naples, where he was received with fo much Joy and Applause, that it would be in vain to attempt the Description; both Sexes, People of all Ages, Conditions and Factions, joining in their Expressions of Satisfaction, as if he had been the Father or first Founder of their City, without excepting those, who, themselves or their Ancestors, had been exalted or benefited by the Aragonian Family. In this joyful Manner they all accompanied him to the Cathedral, from whence, as he was not in Poffession of Castel Nuovo, he was conducted to his Quarters in Castel Capuano, the old Habitation of the French Kings. The Rapidity and wonderful Success of this Expedition surpass-

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A. D. ed the Example of Julius Cæfar. Charles conquered before he faw, and with fo much Ease, that in his whole Expedition he was under no Necessity of spreading a Tent, or breaking a Lance: Many also of his Expences proved needless, for his Fleet, which was equipped at a vast Charge, toffed about and shattered by Storms, was driven to the Isle of Corfica, and did not arrive on the Coasts of the Kingdom till Charles was Master of Naples. Such were the Effects of intestine Broils, which so blinded the established Wisdom of our Princes, that, with the highest Reproach and Derifion of the Italian Soldiers, and to the very great Danger and Infamy of all, a famous and powerful Part of Italy was alienated from the Empire of the Italians to the Subjection of an Ultramontane Nation. For old Ferdinando, tho' born in Spain, yet as he was from his Infancy bred up in Italy, where he had been either King or Son of a King, and all his Children and Grand-Children, being born and educated at Naples, were justly deemed Italians.

The End of the First Book.



# Francesco Guicciardini's

## HISTORY

OF

# The WARS in ITALY.

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### B O O K II.

### THE CONTENTS.

War of Pisa. Change of the Florentine Government. League between the Pope, Venetians, and other Princes, against the French. King's Return towards France. Battle of the Taro. Ferdinando's Return to Naples. Siege of Novara by the Confederates. Peace between Charles and the Duke of Milan. First Discovery of the French Disease in Italy.

D Rome and the Kingdom of Naples, the Sparks of a small Fire, destined to kindle up at last a very great

S Combustion,

A, D. Combustion, to the Detriment of many, but principally of him who, by too great a Thirst after Dominion, had raised and maintained it, diffused themselves in other Parts of Italy. For though it had been agreed, while the King of France was at Florence, that he should keep Possession of Pisa till the Acquisition of Naples, but that the Jurisdiction and Revenues should belong to the Florentines, yet, at his Departure from Florence, he had made no Provision, nor left any Orders for the Obfervation of fuch an Engagement. The Pisans, therefore, finding themselves favoured by the French Commissary and their Re- Garrison, and resolving never more to return under the Florentine Government. had turned out the Officers and all the Florentines that remained in the Place, imprisoned some, and seized on all their Goods and Effects, and broke out into downright Rebellion, both in Shew and Fact. Then, to confirm themselves in their Revolt, they not only fent Ambassadors to the King, after he had left Florence, to recommend to him the Defence of their Caufe, but, resolving to use their utmost

Endeavours to obtain Affistance wherever

Pifans perfift in volt.

could be had, fent, immediately on their A. D. Rebellion, others to Siena and Lucca, which Cities, being very great Enemies to the Name of the Florentines, were overjoyed to hear of the Pifan Rebellion, and therefore joined together in furnishing them with a Sum of Money, and the Senese immediately sent them some Horse. The Pisans fent Ambassadors also to Venice, to found the Mind of that Senate, by whom they were favourably received, tho' they returned without Hopes of Affistance. their greatest Expectations were from the Duke of Milan, not doubting but, as he had been the principal Author of their Revolt, he would be disposed to maintain it. Lodovico, though he pretended the contrary to the Florentines, fecretly endeavoured to animate the Pifans by enticing Motives and Offers, and privately perfuaded the Genoese to furnish the Pisans with Arms, and to fend a Commissary to Pifa with Three Hundred Soldiers.

THE Genoese, on account of their great Enmity to the Florentines, which arose from the Displeasure which they conA. D. 1495.

Genoese assist the Pisans. ceived at their Acquisition of Pisa, and from the Purchase which they made afterwards of the Port of Livorno in the Time of their Doge Tomaso Fregoso, and was, in the last Place, increased when the Florentines wrested from them Pietra Santa and Sarzana, were not only prepared for such an Undertaking, but had already seized on most of the Towns which the Florentines possessed in the Lunigiana, and were now, under a Pretext of the King's Letter obtained for the Restitution of some consistent Goods, intermeddling in the Affairs of Pietra Santa.

THE Florentines making their Complaint of these Proceedings at Milan, the Duke answered, that by Treaties subsisting between him and the Genoese, it was not in his Power to prohibit them. Yet he endeavoured to satisfy them with fair Speeches; and while he amused them with vain Hopes, ceased not to act a quite contrary Part, in Hopes that if Pisa was not recovered by the Florentines, he might easily reduce it under his own Dominion, which he most ardently desired on account of the Quality of that City, and the Commodiousness

of its Situation. Nor was this ambitious Defire new in him, but began as far back as when being expelled from Milan, foon after the Death of his Brother Galeazzo, out of a Jealoufy which Madonna Bona, Mother and Tutoress of the young Duke, entertained of him, he refided on the Borders of the Pisan for many Months. He had, befides this, another Motive from remembering that Pisa, before it fell into the Hands of the Florentines, had been governed by Giovan Galeazzo Visconte, the first Duke of Milan. He imagined, therefore, that it would be a glorious Atchievement to recover what had been possessed by his Ancestors, and he flattered himself that he could pretend fome Colour of Right, as if it had not been lawful for Giov. Galeazzo to bequeath by Will Pifa, acquired indeed by him, but at the Expence, and with the Forces of the Dutchy of Milan, to Gabrielmaria, his natural Son, in prejudice of the Dukes of Milan his Succeffors. The Pisans, not content with freeing their City from Subjection to the Florentines, were follicitous to get into their Possession the Towns in the Territory of

Pifa,

A. D. Pifa, which almost all of them, as is usua in fuch Cases, following the Authority of the Capital, received the Pisan Commisfaries in the Beginning of the Rebellion, the Florentines at first making no Oppofition, because they were employed on Affairs of greater Moment, as they had not yet compounded Matters with the King, and expected, that, after his Departure from Florence, he would take Care, as he had obliged himself by a public and solemn Oath, to redress these Disorders. But after they faw that he delayed the The Pi-Jans reco-Remedy, they fent out their Troops, and ver their Territory partly by Force, partly by Agreement, recovered all that had been feized, except Cascina, Buti, and Vicopisano, into which Towns the Pisans, not being sufficient to make Refistance every where, had withdrawn their Forces. Charles inwardly was not displeased with these Proceedings of Charles encourathe Pisans, whose Cause was openly fages the Rebellion voured by many in his Court, fome induced out of Compassion, from an Im-. pression made before on the Courtiers of their fevere Treatment, and others in Opposition to the Cardinal of St. Malo, who appeared

appeared to favour the Florentines. But A. D. above all the Seneschal of Beaucaire, corrupted with Money by the Pifans, but much more because he could not bear to fee the exorbitant Grandeur of the Cardidinal, took Occasion, according to the Changes which happen in Courts, to difagree with the Cardinal, from the same Motive which had before prompted him to promote his Interest that he might have him for an Affociate in the Depreffion of others. This Party, not having the Regard due to the Honour and Faith of a great King, represented to him that it was more for his Advantage to keep the Florentines under this Distress, and to preserve the Pisans in their present State, at least till he had acquired the Kingdom of Naples. The Persuasions of those Men prevailed with him; and, pursuant to this Advice, Charles laboured to feed both Parties with various Hopes, and before he left Rome had the Florentine Ambassadors introduced to him, that they might hear in his Presence the Complaints which the Pifans had to make against them.

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Burgundie

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A. D. 1495. Burgundio Lolo, a Citizen of Pifa, and an Advocate of the Confiftory in the Speech in favour of Court of Rome, was their Orator. He most the Pisans. bitterly complained, "That the Florentines had kept the Pisans in an unjust and cruel Slavery for Eighty Years: That their City, which with many glorious Victories had extended its Empire as far as the Eastern Parts, and had been one of the most powerful and magnificent Cities in all Italy, was now by the Cruelty and Avarice of the Florentines reduced to the utmost Desolatition: That it was almost destitute of Inhabitants, because the greater Part of the Citizens, not being able to bear fo heavy a Yoke, had, of their own Accord, abandoned Pisa; and that they had taken the most prudent Resolution, was demonstrated by the Miseries of those whom Love to their native Country had kept at Home: That by the heavy public Taxes, and the private Extortions of the Florentines, they were spoiled of almost all their Substance, and had no Way to support themselves, because, by an unparallelled Inhumanity and Injustice, they had been prohibited to ex-

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### THE WARS IN ITALY.

ercise Merchandising, or Arts of any Kind A. D. except mechanic, and were excluded from all Posts and Offices in the Florentine Dominions, even those into which Strangers were admitted: That their Oppresfors were determined to destroy their Name, and extirpate their Race from the Face of the Earth: To compass which they had purposely omitted keeping up the Dikes, and cleanfing the Ditches in their Territory; a Thing ever carefully attended to when they were their own Masters, as it would have been otherwise impossible to have prevented every Year that raging Sickness with which they are now afflicted, the Ground lying low, and subject to frequent Inundations. This Manner of Governing had occasioned in all Parts the Ruin of beautiful Churches, Palaces, and private and public Edifices, erected by their Ancestors with Magnificence and vast Cost: That it was no Disgrace to ancient and renowned Cities, if after a Series of many Ages they fell at last into Slavery; for it was by Fate ordained that

all Things in this World should suffer Change: Therefore the Remembrance

of

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A. D. of their Nobility and Grandeur ought rather to have excited the Compassion than the Rage of their Conquerors, especially as every one ought to reflect, that the fame ill Fortune may, nay must some time or other, bring all Cities and Empires to an End. But the Florentines, far from acting on fuch Principles, have so inhumanly harraffed the Pisans, that, not able any longer to bear fo heavy a Yoke, they are determined to a Man to quit their Country, or lay down their Lives, fooner than return under fo iniquitous, fo impious a Government. He then defired with Tears (which he begged his Majesty would look on as the Tears of all the Pilans poured out in Floods) humbly prostrated at his Feet, that he would recollect with how much Piety and Justice he had restored the Pisans to their Liberty, fo long unjustly invaded; and that, as became a resolute and magnanimous Prince, he would preferve the invaluable Benefit he had procured, and chuse rather the Name of Father and Redemer of their City, than, by delivering them up to a detefted Slavery, that of Minister of the Rapaciousness and Cruelty of the Florentines.

1495-To this Accusation Francesco Soderini, then Bishop of Volterra, and afterwards the Floren-Cardinal, one of the Florentine Ambassa-tine Amdors, replied with no less Vehemence, and bassador. endeavoured to prove, That the Title of the Florentines to Pisa was good and legal: He faid, they had purchased it, in the Year 1404, of Gabriello Maria Visconti, the then lawful Poffessor: That the Florentines had no fooner taken Possession, than the Pilans by Violence expelled them, and put them under the Necessity of undertaking a long War, the End of which proved as fuccessful as the Cause was just, nor less glorious to the Florentines for their Mildness than Victory: For when it was in their Power to let them perish with Hunger, their Troops entered the Town more loaded with Provisions than Arms: That the Pisans had never made any great Figure on the Continent: They had not been able to conquer even the petty State of Lucca, which lay so near them, but were always straitened within a very narrow Compass of Land. As for their maritime Power, it had been of no Duration: For by divine **Tuffice** 

A. D. Justice, inflicted on them for their manifold Sins, infamous Deeds, and continued intestine Divisions, long before Pisa was bought by the Florentines, it was fallen from its Grandeur and Riches, depopulated, and become so weak, that one Jacopo Appiano, a mean Scrivener of the Territory of Pisa, had found Means to make himself Lord of it; and, after enjoying for feveral Years an absolute Dominion, left it as an Inheritance to his Children: That very little Advantage accrued to the Republic from that City, which was only convenient, as being near the Sea; for the Revenues were inconfiderable, and the Customs so small and trifling, that they hardly exceeded the necessary Expences; and the most that was collected was from foreign Traders, and by the Advantage of the Port of Livorno: Nor were the Citizens of Pisa excluded from Trade, civil Arts, or Employments more than any of the Inhabitants of the other Cities of their Dominion, who thought themselves happy under a moderate and mild Government, and defired not to change Masters, because they had not the Arrogance and the

A. D. 1495.

the Obstinacy so natural to the Pisans, that their Perfidiousness was become a standing Proverb all over Tuscany. If, after they were conquered, many voluntarily and haftily abandoned their Country, that must be attributed to their Pride, which would not permit them to accommodate their Spirits to their Strength and their Fortune, and not to the Administration, which was ever just and mild: Nor was Pisa, under the Florentines, diminished in Riches or Inhabitants: On the contrary, the Republic had, at a vast Expence, regained the Port of Livorno, without which that City would have been deprived of all Conveniences and Emoluments; and by making Pifa an University for the public Study of all the Sciences, by continually taking Care of the Ditches, and by many other Ways endeavoured to increase the Inhabitants. The Truth of this was fo notorious that no false Complaints or Calumnies were capable of obscuring it. None found Fault with any one for defiring to mend his Fortune; but then it was the Duty of every one to bear with Patience what his Fate had allotted him: Otherwife all Sovereign248

A. D. ties and Empires would be thrown into Confusion, by making it lawful for every Subject to endeavour to fet himfelf free. The Florentines, he faid, did not think it necessary to take the Pains to direct Charles the most Christian King of France how to act according to his Duty in this Affair, for they affured themselves, from his consummate Wisdom and Justice, that he would not fuffer himfelf to be influenced by fuch vain Complaints and Calumnies, but would put himself in Mind of what he had promifed before his Army was received into Pifa, and what he had so solemnly swore in Florence, confidering that the greater and more powerful a King is, the more glorious it will be for him to employ his Power for the Preservation of Faith and

King of IT was manifest that Charles lent a more France sa-favourable Ear to the Pisans, and for their Pisans. Benefit desired that there should be either a Suspension of Arms till the Neapolitan War was finished, or that till such Time the Florentines would consent to have all the Pisan Territory put into his Hands, assure

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ing them that, as foon as he was poffest of A. D. Naples, he would without Delay execute all he had stipulated at Florence. But the Florentines, who now distrusted every Thing the King faid, constantly fused both these Expedients, and insisted with great Earnestness on the Performance of his Promises.

CHARLES, to make a Shew as if he defigned to content them, but with a real Intent to get out of them Seventy Thousand Ducats before the due Time of Payment when he departed from Rome, fent the Cardinal of St. Malo to Florence, pretending to the Florentines that he had given him a Commission to grant Satisfaction for their Demands, but gave him private Instructions to feed them with Hopes till he had got the Money, and then at last to leave Things in the same Situation as he found them. The Florentines, tho' strongly suspicious of the French, yet paid Forty Thousand Ducats, of which the Term of Payment was nearly expired; and the Cardinal, as foon as he had received the Money, went to Pifa, promising to restore A. D. to the Florentines the Possession of that City, but returned without Effect, alledging for his Excuse that he had found the Pisans so obstinate that his Authority was not sufficient to dispose them, and he had no Power to constrain them, because he had received no fuch Commission from the King, and that it did no way become him, who was a Priest, to take any Resolution from which might refult an Effusion of Christian Blood. He took Care, however, to put fresh Troops into the new Citadel, and would have done the same in the old Citadel, had the Pisans consented to it. The Spirits and Forces of thefe People increased every Day, for the Duke of Milan judging it necessary that there should be a larger Garrison in Pisa, and a Commander of some Experience and Valour, fent thither Lucio Malvezzo with a Reinforcement of Troops, though with his usual Arts covering himself with the Name of the Genoefe: And embracing all Occasions of fomenting the Troubles of the Florentines, that it might be more difficult for them to attack the Pifans, he joined with the Senefe in hiring Jacopo d'Appiano

Lodovico Forces to Pisa.

d'Appiano Lord of Piombino, and Giovanni A. D. Savello to give them Courage for maintaining Montepulciano, which Town having lately revolted from the Florentines to the Senese was received by them without any Regard to the Confederacy substifting between the two Commonwealths.

AT this Juncture the Florentines were The Flounder no less Anxiety and Concern on ac-rentines count of their intestine Commotions uneafy For, in order to settle the Government of their Form the Republic on a new Foundation, they of Gohad, immediately after the Departure of the King from Florence, held a Parliament, which, according to their antient Custom, is an Assembly of the whole Body of the Citizens, in the Square of the public Palace, where every one freely and openly fpoke his Sentiments on Matters proposed by the chief Magistrates, and had constituted a Kind of Polity which, under the Name of popular Government, tended in many Respects rather to put the Power in the Hands of a Few than to leave it free for universal Participation. This creating Uneafiness in many of the Citizens, who VOL. I. had

A. D. had proposed to themselves a greater Lati-1495, tude, and the private Ambition of some of the principipal Citizens concurring in the same View, it had been necessary to enter on a new Debate concerning the Form of Government; on which as the principal Magistrates, and most creditable Persons were one Day consulting, Pagol' Antonio Soderini, a knowing and very reputable Citizen, made a Speech, as we have heard, in Substance as follows.

" It would certainly be very eafy, most Soderini's worthy Citizens, to demonstrate that the before the Writers on civil Affairs have not been fo Magistra free of their Praises on a popular Governey of Flo-ment as on that of a fingle Prince, or one under the Administration of the Nobles: Yet as the Desire of Liberty is of long standing, and in a manner natural in this City, and the Conditions of the Citizens fuited to Equality, a very necessary Foundation of popular Governments, it ought, doubtless, to be preferred by us before all others. But this Dispute might seem superfluous, fince, in all the Confultations that have been held for fome Days past,

it has been always determined, by univerfal Confent, that the City should be governed in the Name and by the Authority of the People. But the Diversity of Opinions arises from hence, that some Perfons would freely accede in the Regulation of the Parliament to those Forms of a Republic by which this City was governed before its Liberty was oppressed by the Family of the Medici; others, of which Number I confess myself to be one, judging that a Government fo regulated has in many Respects rather the Name than the Effects of a popular Government, and apprehensive of the Accidents which have frequently refulted from the like Governments, desire a more perfect Form, and fuch as is adapted to preferve the Harmony and Security of the Citizens; Bleffings which neither Reafon, nor Experience of Times past will suffer us to expect in this City, unless under a Government entirely depending on the Power of the People; but that Power must be reduced under due Order and Regulation, which confifts principally in two fundamental Points: The first is, that all Places of Honour and

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Profit,

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A. D. Profit, both in the City and throughout its Dominions, be from Time to Time bestowed by a general Council of all those who are by our Laws qualified for a Share in the Government; and no new Laws to pass without the Approbation of this Councii. Hence, as it will not be in the Power of private Citizens, or any particular Conspiracy, or secret Intelligence, to bestow Places of Dignity and Authority, fo none will be excluded from them by the Paffions, or at the Pleasure of others, but they will be distributed according to the good Qualities and Deferts of Men; whence it will be the Care of every one, by Virtue and good Manners, and by rendering himself useful both in a public and private Capacity, to open himself a Way to Honours; as, on the other hand, every Person will think himself obliged to abstain from Vices, and doing Mischief to others, and, in short, from all such Actions as will render him odious in a well regulated City; nor will it be in the Power of One or a Few, by new Laws, and with the Authority of the Magistracy, to introduce another Government, because he can make

no Alteration in the present without the A. D. Consent of the Universal Council .--- The fecond fundamental Point is, that Refolutions of Importance, that is, such as concern Peace or War, the Examination of new Laws, and, in general, all Things necessary to the Administration of such a City and Dominion, be debated by Magistrates particularly appointed to those Charges, and by a more select Council of prudent and experienced Citizens, deputed by the popular Council. For the Knowledge of State Affairs not falling within the Capacity of every one's Understanding, it is necessary that they should be managed. by fuch as are equal to the Charge. Befides, fuch Matters often require Dispatch and Secrecy, and therefore cannot come under the Confultations or Refolutions of the Multitude. Nor is it necessary for the Preservation of Liberty that such Affairs should be debated in very large Assemblies; for Liberty remains secure while the Distribution of Offices, and enacting new Laws depend on universal Consent. Provision then being made with relation to these two Points, the Government becomes

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A. D. truly popular, the Liberty of the City well. founded, and the laudable Form of the Republic fixed and durable. There are, indeed, many other Requisites which tend to make the Government of which we have been speaking more perfect, but may more properly be deferred till another Opportunity, that we may avoid too much perplexing at first the Minds of Men still labouring under Doubts and Jealousies from the Memory of the late Tyranny, and who, not being accustomed to debate on free Governments, cannot thoroughly understand what Resolutions it may be néceffary to take for the Preservation of Liberty. There are also some Particulars, which being of less Moment may safely be deferred to a more convenient Season, and a more favourable Opportunity. The Citizens will be more and more in Love with this Form of a Republic, and being by every Day's Experience rendered more capable of knowing the Truth will defire to have the Government continually polished, and brought to entire Perfection. In the mean time it will support itself by the two fundamental Props aforefaid; and

and how eafily these may be provided, and A. D. the Advantages they will produce, is not only demonstrable by many Reasons, but will appear most evidently by Example. For as to the Government of the Venetians. though it belongs only to the Nobles, yet these Nobles are no other than private Citizens, and are fo numerous, and of fuch different Qualities and Conditions, that it cannot be denied to partake in a great measure of a popular Form of Administration, and that it may in many Particulars be imitated by us: And yet it is founded chiefly on those two Bases, on which that Republic has for fo many Ages preserved, together with its Liberties, Union, and civil Concord, and is advanced to fo great a Height of Glory and Grandeur. Nor has the Union of the Venetians proceeded from their Situation, as many imagine; for in that Situation may possibly arife, and fometimes have actually arifen, Contentions and Seditions; but a Form of Government so well modelled, and so well proportioned in all its Parts, could never fail of producing fuch precious and admirable Effects. Neither ought we to be less T 4

A. D. less moved by our own than by foreign Examples, but then we are to confider them in a contrary Light, for our City had never a Form of Government like to this, which has been the Cause that our Constitution has been always subject to frequent Changes, fometimes trampled on by the Violence of Tyrannies, at others fuffering terrible Breaches from the ambitious and covetous Contentions of a Few, and fometimes shaken and endangered by the unbridled Licentiousness of the Multitude. And whereas Cities were built for the Quiet, and happyLiving of the Inhabitants, the Fruits of our Governments, our Happiness, our Repose, have been Confiscations of Goods, Banishments, and Beheadings of our miserable Citizens. The Regulations introduced into the Parliament differ not from those of former Times in this City, which produced nothing but Contentions and Calamities, and after infinite Vexations, both public and private, at last ended in Tyrannies. These and no other were the Causes that of old moved the Duke of Athens to oppress the Liberty of our Ancestors; encouraged by these alone

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alone Cosimo de' Medici, in later Times, A. D. subverted our Freedom. Nor does it deferve our Wonder, for when the Disposal of Offices, and the Enacting of Laws are daily transacted without Need of the common Confent, but depend on the Will of a leffer Number, the Citizens, in fuch a Situation, will be no longer intent on promoting the Good of the Public, but to gratify their Defires and private Ends, Parties will arise and particular Combinations, followed by Divisions of the whole City, the Plague and most certain Destruction of all Republics and Empires. How much more prudent then is it to avoid those Forms of Governments which, from Reafon and Example among ourselves, we may be affured are pernicious, and to embrace fuch as, by Reason and Example of others, we may be fatisfied are falutary and happy! For the meer Force of Truth obliges me to fay that, in our City, a Government, constituted in such a Manner as that a few Citizens shall be invested with an immoderate Authority, will be a Government of a few Tyrants, who will be so much more pernicious than a fingle Tyrant,

1495.

A D. Tyrant, as an Evil becomes greater and does more Mischief the more it is multiplied. And, if there were no other Caufes, the Difference of Opinions, with the Ambition and various Defires of Men, would not afford any Hopes of a lasting Agreement; and Discord, which is highly pernicious at all Times, would be more fo in the present Juncture, when you have fent into Exile so powerful a Citizen, are deprived of fo important a Part of your State, and when all Italy is in the greatest Danger from a foreign Army within its Bowels. It has been very rarely, and perhaps never absolutely in the Power of the whole City to regulate itself according to its Discretion; but since by the divine Favour you have Power now put into your Hands, Heaven grant that you may not, to your own infinite Prejudice, and to the eternal Difgrace of the Florentine Prudence lofe the Opportunity of laying the Founda. tion of a free Government, fo well regulated, as not only to render yourselves happy while it lasts, but to promise you its Perpetuity, and to leave for an Inheritance to your Children and Posterity such a Treafure,

fure, and fuch a Happiness, as neither you A. D. nor your Progenitors ever possessed or knew." Such was the Speech of Pagol' Antonio, to which Guid' Antonio Vespucci, a famous Lawyer, and a Man of bright Parts, and of singular Dexterity, made the following Reply:

" If a Government, most worthy Citi- Answer of zens, modelled according to the Form pro-Guid Antonio Vefposed by Pagol' Antonio Soderini, could pucci. produce the defired Effects with the same Ease as is delineated, he must certainly be a Man of a very corrupt Taste, who should defire any other Government in our Country; he would be a very bad Citizen, who was not ardently in Love with the Form of a Republic, in which Virtue, Merit, and Worth were the chief Recommendations to Notice and Honour. But I cannot comprehend what Grounds we have to hope that a Government wholly placed in the People will produce fuch great Benefits. I know well what Reason teaches, what Experience shews, and what the Authority of able Men confirms, that in fo great a Multitude there are not to be found that

A. D. that Prudence, that Experience, and that Order from which we can promise ourfelves that the Knowing shall be preferred to the Ignorant, good Men to bad, Men of Experience to fuch as never had the Management of any Business. For as from a Judge of no Skill or Capacity we can expect no righteous Sentence, fo from a People full of Confusion and Ignorance cannot be hoped, unless it be by Chance, any prudent or reasonable Choice or Refolution. And can we believe that in public Governments what can hardly be difcerned by wife Men, who mind no other Business, should be known and distinguished by an unskilful and unexperienced Multitude, composed of Persons of so great a Variety of Talents, Conditions and Cuftoms, and Men wholly taken up with the Business of their particular Callings? Not to mention that the immoderate Conceit which every one will have of himself, will excite them all to the Defire of Honours. Nor will Men be content in a popular Government with acquiring the honourable Benefits of Liberty, but will all aspire to the principal Degrees, and to intermeddle

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in Debates on Affairs of the highest Im- A. D. portance and Difficulty. For the Modefty of giving Place to one who has more Knowledge, or more Merit, reigns less among us than in any other City; but perfuading ourselves that of Right we ought all to be on a Level in every Respect, the Posts of Virtue and Worth, if left in the Power of the Multitude, will be confounded; and this ambitious Defire diffusing itself thro' the greater Part, will put more Power into the Hands of the less knowing and less deserving, for being many more in Number, they will have the greatest Power in a State constituted in such a Manner that Opinions are counted not weighed. What Security then will you have that, content with the Form that you would introduce at present, they will not quickly confound the Schemes, fo wifely projected, by new Inventions, and imprudent Laws? Wife Men in fuch a Case have no Power to refift, and those Accidents are at all Times dangerous in fuch a Government, but will be much more fo now, because it is the Nature of Men when they part from one Extreme, in which they have been held by Violence.

A. D. Violence, to run wilfully to the other Extreme, without stopping in the Middle. Thus he who gets free from a Tyranny runs head-long, if not stopped, into an unbridled Licentiousness, which may alfo justly be called a Tyranny; because a People too resembles a Tyrant, when it gives to the Undeferving, and takes away from the Meritorious; when it confounds Degrees and Distinctions of Persons: And its Tyranny is perhaps the more pestiferous, in proportion as Ignorance is the more dangerous, as it has neither Weight, nor Measure, nor Laws, than Malignity, which at worst is directed by some Regard, is restrained by fome Bridle, and confined within fome Bounds. Let not the Example of the Venetians move you, for, as to them, their Situation is of some Moment, and the inveterate Form of their Government is of great Weight; and Affairs there are regulated in fuch a Manner, as that the important Resolutions are more in the Power of Few than of Many; besides, their Parts not being by Nature perhaps fo acute as those of our People, they are much easier to be quieted and contented. Nor is the

Venetian

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Venetian Administration directed only under the Influence of those two fundamental Points which have been confidered, but a perpetual Doge, and many other Regulations, greatly contribute towards its Perfection and Stability; whereas if any one should attempt to introduce such Regulations into this Republic, he would meet infinite Contradictions, because our City is not just now founded, nor is this the first Time of her Institution, and therefore inveterate Habits being often repugnant to the public Welfare, and Men suspecting that, under a Colour of preserving Liberty, fome would feek to erect a new Tyranny, they are not easily disposed to receive Benefit from wholesome Advice: Thus in a Body infected and over-run with corrupt Humours, Medicines have not that kindly Effect which they operate on Bodies cleanfed from those noxious Juices. From these Causes, and from the Nature of human Affairs, which commonly decline and alter for the worfe, it is more to be feared that those imperfect Regulations, with which you propose to begin, will in Process of Time be intirely disordered, than to be hoped that either by Time or Opportuni1495

A. D. ties they will be brought to Perfection. But have we not Examples of our own, without feeking them from others? Was ever this City under the absolute Government of the People without being full of Divisions, without being shaken in every Part, and falling into Factions, which have at last made Way for a sudden Revolution in the State? And if we must needs look out for foreign Examples, why should we not remember that a Government wholly popular was the Caufe of fo many Tumults in Rome, that, had it not been for the military Skill, and Love of Arms, the Life of that Republic would have been but of a short Date? Why can't we put ourfelves in Mind that Athens, a most flourishing and most powerful City, lost its Empire, and afterwards fell under Slavery to its own Citizens and to Foreigners, by no other Means than by managing the weighty Matters of State according to the Refolutions of the Multitude? But I see no Reason why it should be said that, in the Method already introduced into the Parliament, Liberty is not preserved intire: For all Affairs are referred to the Disposition of the Magistrates, who are not perpetual, but

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but changed, nor elected by Few, a but, being approved by many, have, according to the antient Custom of the City, their Election determined by Lot. How then can they be appointed by Factions, or at the Will of particular Citizens? We shall have a much greater Certainty that the most important Affairs will be examined and directed by the most knowing, most experienced, and the gravest Persons, who will manage them with an Order, Secrecy and Maturity quite different from those of the People, who are incapable of fuch Matters, and are fometimes most profuse in Expences where there is the least Need, and at other Times, when there is the greatest Necessity, so close and niggardly, as oftentimes, for the Sake of faving a very fmall Sum, to run themselves into vast Expences, and Dangers. The Weakness of Italy, and in particular of our own Country, are, as Pagol' Antonio has observed, highly worth our Concern. How imprudent then would it be for us, when we have Need of the most skilful and experienced Physicians, to put ourselves into the Hands of those who have least Skill VOL. I. and

and Experience! It is your Duty to confider, in the last Place, that you will keep your People in greater Quietness, and more easily induce them to take such Resolutions as are beneficial to themselves, and to every Individual, by giving them a moderate Share of Power and Authority; for, by referring every thing absolutely to their Disposal, there will be Danger of their becoming insolent, and too difficult and refractory to the Counsels of your knowing and well disposed Citizens."

Savonarola a preaching Friar.

In this Consultation, at which attended no extraordinary Number of Citizens, the Opinion of those who were for entrusting the Power of the Government in sewer Hands would have prevailed, if human Counsels had not been over-ruled by the Interposition of divine Authority from the Mouth of Girolamo Savonarola of Ferrara, a Friar of the Order of Predicants. This Man, having for many Years together expounded the Word of God in public at Florence, and, besides his singular Learning, acquired a vast Reputation for Sanctity, had obtained with the greater Part of the People

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People the Name and Credit of a Prophet. For, at the Time when in Italy no other Sign appeared but of the greatest Tranquillity, he had often predicted in his Sermons the marching of foreign Armies into Italy, which would so terrify the People, that neither Walls nor Armies would be able to refift their Power; protesting that what he faid, and many other Things which he was continually foretelling, was not by human Argumentation, nor by Knowledge of the Scriptures, but merely by Divine Revelation. He had also given some Hints of the Change of the Florentine Government, and at this Juncture, publicly inveighing against the Form settled in the Parliament, affirmed it was the Will of God that a Government entirely popular should be established in such a Manner, as not to leave it in the Power of a few Citizens to alter either the Security or the Liberty of the rest. The Reverence which was paid to fo great a Name, joined to the Desires of Multitudes, had fuch an Influence, that those who were of different Sentiments could by no means refift so violent an Inclination: And, there-

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fore,

A. D. fore, after this Affair had been debated in feveral Consultations, it was finally determined that a Council should be formed of the whole Body of the Citizens, not admitting the Dregs of the Commonalty, as it was reported in many Parts of Italy, but only those who, according to the antient Laws of the City, were qualified to participate of the Government. This Council was to have nothing under their Confultation or Disposition but the Election of all the Magistrates for the City and its Dominions, paffing the Bills for raifing Money, together with all the Laws before prepared by the Magistrates and other more private Councils. And to remove all Occasions of civil Discord, and for the better fecuring every one from Apprehensions, following the Example of the Athenians, it was by a public Edict prohibited to take any Notice of past Offences or Misdemeanors committed with lation to State Affairs. On this Basis, perhaps, might have been erected a well regulated and folid Constitution, if at the fame time all those Regulations, which wise and prudent Men even then foresaw would

Judgment.

would have been necessary, had been introduced. But as this could not be effected without the Consent of many who, remembering Things past, were sull of Suspicions, it was agreed, for the present, only to settle the Grand Council, as the Bulwark of their new Liberty; and put off what was wanting to some other Opportunity, when what was necessary for the public Welfare would by Experience become known to those who were now incapable of discerning it by Reason and

SUCH were the Broils in the Affairs of Tuscany. But in the mean time the King continues of France, after the Acquisition of Naples, to reduce to compleat his Victory, applied himself dom of principally to two Things: One was the Naples. Reduction of its two Castles Nuovo and dell' Uovo; for the Tower of San Vicentio, built to guard the Port, he had already taken with Ease; the other, to reduce to his Obedience the Remainder of the Kingdom. In compassing this, Fortune accompanied him with her usual Favours; for Castel Nuovo, the Habitation of the U3 Neapolitan

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A. D. Neapolitan Kings, fituated on the Sea Shore, by the Baseness and Avarice of Five Hundred Germans in Garrison, after a slender Resistance, surrendered, on their being permitted to retire fafe, and loaded with what Treasure they could carry away\*. Great Plenty of Provisions was found in the Castle, which Charles inconfiderately distributed amongst some of his People, without reflecting what might be the Confequence.

> CASTEL dell' Uovo is founded on a Rock in the Sea, formerly joined to the Land, till separated by Lucullus, and is now united to the Shore by a narrow Bridge. It lies at so small a Distance from the Town, that the Artillery might play upon it, and damage the Walls, but could not make any Impression on the Rock; however, after a few Days Siege, the Garrison agreed to surrender, if not succoured in eight Days: And the Officers and Men at Arms, who were going to fubdue the rest of the Kingdom, were met

The Kingdom of Naples reduced by the French.

<sup>\*</sup> Giovio writes that the royal Treasure, carried away by the Germans, exceeded the Value of a Million Q Golden Ducats.

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by the Barons and Deputies of the Towns feveral Days before they could have reached them all, contending who should be first to receive them. This remarkable Readiness, whether it proceeded from Inclination or Fear, it had this Effect, that the Governors of most of the Fortresses gave them up without Resistance, and the Citadel of Gaeta, though well provided with all Necessaries, after a weak Defence, furrendered at Discretion; so that in a very few Days, with a wonderful Facility, Charles made himself Master of the whole Kingdom, excepting the Isle of Ischia, the Citadels of Brindisi and Gallipoli, in the Province of Puglia; and, in Calabria, the Citadel of Reggio, fituated on that Point of Italy which faces Sicily. But the City of Reggio submitted to Charles, and Turpia and Mantia erected at first the French Standard, but the Inhabitants of these two last Places, on being apprised that their Towns were disposed of to Favourites, revolted again to their former Lord, being determined not to fubject themselves to any one under the King. Their Example was foon followed by the

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Town

A. D. Town of Brindis, whither Charles had fent no Troops, because the King, out of Negligence, had paid no Regard to their Deputies whom they had sent to Naples to capitulate, for he neither dispatched them, nor would hardly give them a Hearing. This Treatment gave an Opportunity to those who held out for Ferdinando in the Forts, to bring that City back to the Devotion of the Aragonians, by voluntary Consent of the Citizens. Those of Otranto also, who had declared for France, none repairing to receive them, did not continue in the same Disposition. But all the Barons and great Men of the Kingdom came to pay their Homage to their new Sovereign, excepting two or three, who retired into Sicily, after their Estates had been confiscated and given away by Charles, and Alfonso Davalo, Marquis of Pescara, left Governor of Castel Nuovo, who followed Ferdinando, as foon as he discovered the treacherous Designs of the Germans, to furrender the Castle.

Charles
treats with CHARLES, to fecure this vast AcquisitiFederigo, on by way of Treaty, before taking Castel
do'. Uncle.

Nuovo

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Nuovo, had fent a Pass to Don Federigo, in order to have a Conference with him. Federigo had refided in France, in the Reign of Lewis XI. for feveral Years, and, for his Affinity to the Royal Family, was very agreeable to the French Court, Charles intimated to him that if Ferdinando would give up what remained unconquered, he would grant him fuch Revenues in France, as might prove a fufficient Recompence for what he still preserved. But Federigo, being apprifed of his Nephew's Intentions not to accept of any Terms, but fuch as would constitute him intire Master of Calabria, very calmly replied, Since God, Fortune, and the Will of all the People. had concurred to bestow on his most Christian Majesty the Kingdom of Naples, Ferdinando would not refist this fatal Dispofition, nor be any ways ashamed to submit to fo great and mighty a Prince, but, like the rest, be under his Obedience, and at his Devotion, provided some Part of the Kingdom, hinting at Calabria, was affigned him: If this was granted, he should there pass his Days, not as King, but as

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one of his Barons, and adore the Clemency and Generofity of a Monarch in whose Service, some time or other, he hoped to have an Opportunity of shewing that Refolution which his ill Fortune had not permitted him to exercise in his own Behalf. He observed that nothing could be more glorious than fuch a Conceffion: It would be parallel to the memorable Deeds of the ancient Heroes, who, by fuch noble Acts of Refignation, had rendered their Fame immortal, and obtained from the People divine Honours. A Counfel not less safe than honourable: For, after Ferdinando's Submiffion, the Kingdom would be fettled without any Danger of a Change of Fortune, whose Property it is, whereever Victories are not secured by Moderation and Prudence, to stain and obscure, by fome unforeseen Accident, the Glory of the Conqueror. But Charles, judging it by no means adviseable to give up to his Competitor any Part that might endanger the rest, Federigo was dismissed without coming to any Agreement.

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WHEN Ferdinando heard of the Surrender of the Castles, he left the Care of Ferdinanthe Citadel of Ischia to Inico Davalo, who, into Sicily. as well as his Brother Alfonso, was an Officer of Valour and uncorrupt Fidelity, and retired into Sicily with the fourteen illarmed light Gallies he had taken with him from Naples, to be there at hand on any Occasion. Charles, in order to deprive his Enemies of a Receptacle from whence they might conveniently annoy the Kingdom, fent to Ischia the Fleet, which by this Time was arrived in the Port of Naples. The Town was abandoned on their Appearance, but it was not thought proper to attack the Fort, that being too well fortified. This put the King on fending for other Vessels from Provence and Genoa, for taking of Ischia, and securing the Seas, which were fometimes infested by Ferdinando. But neither Diligence nor Counsel were equal to Fortune; for he shewed great Coolness, Negligence and Confusion in all his Actions, and the French were become more infolent than usual by fo much Prosperity, and, giving themselves

Matters of the greatest Moment, whilst those who were in Favour attended to nothing else but to obtain, privately of the King, what Advantage they could make of the Victory, without any Regard to the Dignity or Interest of their Prince.

Gemin's Death.

ABOUT this Time died at Naples Gemin the Ottoman, to the great Concern of the King, who expected he would have been very useful in the War he intended to make upon the Turks. It was firmly believed that his Death proceeded from a flow Poifon, given him by the Pope, which was to destroy him in a determinate Time, because he had in a manner been forced from him, by which he was deprived of the yearly Pension of Forty Thousand Ducats paid him by his Brother Bajazet. Thus he gratified his Revenge, by hindering others from reaping that Profit of which they had deprived him, or was mov'd by Envy to the Glory of Charles, and perhaps feared that, if he prospered against the Infidels, he would turn his Thoughts, as many, out of private Interest, were continually stimulating him

on reforming the Church, which was fo A. D. totally degenerated from the ancient Cuftoms, that the Authority of the Christian Religion daily declined, and every one expected it would do fo more and more during this Pontificate, acquired by very bad Arts, and administred by worse perhaps than were ever known in the Memory of Man. Nor were there wanting those who believed (for the very corrupt Dispofition of this Pope made the greatest Iniquities credible) that Bajazet, on hearing of the King of France's Expedition into Italy, had with a large Sum of Money bribed Alexander, by the Means of Bucciardo, to put Gemin to Death. But Charles did not for this give over the Thoughts of his Turkish Enterprize, but, with more Heat, than Prudence or Counsel, sent into Greece the Archbishop of Durazzo, a Native of Albania, who had given him Hopes, through his Interest, with some Exiles, to create Commotions in that Province. However, new Incidents obliged him to turn his Mind on other Objects.

It has been already faid that an eager De-Lodovico fire of usurping the Dutchy of Milan, to-alarmed at Charles's gether Progress.

A. D. gether with the Fear of Piero de' Medici and the Aragonians, induced Lodovico to procure this Invasion of the French. But after obtaining his ambitious Defires by their Coming, and feeing the Aragonians fo reduced as to be hardly in a Condition to keep their Persons out of the Enemy's Power, he was feized with a fecond Fear, much stronger and juster than the former, which was the imminent Slavery of himfelf and all the Italians, in case the Kingdom of Naples should be added to the Power of France. He was in Hopes the King would have met with more Difficulties in the Florentine State, but observing how eafily he had allied with that Republic, and with the same Facility had overcome the Opposition made by the Pope, and entered the Kingdom of Naples without any Obstacle, he thought his Danger daily increased in proportion to the great Progress that the King made.

Also the The same Terror began also to seize the Venetians. Minds of the Venetians, who had hitherto kept steady to their first Resolution of being neuter, and with great Circumspecti-

on had abstained not only from acting, but A. D. from all Appearances which might render them suspected of any Inclination to fayour one Side more than the other. For this Reason they had not appointed their Ambassadors Loredano and Domenico Trevisano to compliment the King till he had passed the Alps, and then detained them till he was arrived at Florence. But now, alarmed at this Torrent of Prosperity, and seeing the King like Lightning make his Way through all Italy without Refistance, they began to confider their Neigbours Danger as their own, and that their Ruin would quickly be followed by that of their Republic. His feizing on Pifa, with other Castles of the Florentines, and leaving a Garrison in Siena, and in the Towns of the Ecclefiastical State, were shrewd Tokens that Charles's Defigns reached farther than the Kingdom of Naples; wherefore they willingly listened to Lodovico Sforza's Propofals, who, as foon as the Florentines had complied with the King, began to treat with, and invite them to join him in putting a Stop to the common Danger. And it was thought, that if Charles had met with

A. D. with any Difficulties in the Roman Ter1495 ritory, or in his Entrance into the Kingdom of Naples, they would have jointly
taken up Arms against him. But the
Victory, following fo suddenly, put an Obstacle to all that was treating to prevent it.

Burnow Charles, falling into Suspicion of the Proceedings of Lodovico, had, after his Conquest of Naples, taken into his Service Gianjacopo Trivulzi, and affigned him an Hundred Lances, with an ample Salary, because he was at the Head of the Guelf Party in Milan, and entirely disaffected to Lodovico. He next, with many fair Promises, brought into his Interest Cardinal Fregoso, and Objetto dal Fiesco, because they were powerful Instruments for raifing Commotions in Genoa; and refused to grant Lodovico the promifed Investiture of the Principality of Taranto, afferting he could not lay any Claim to that Promise until the whole Kingdom was entirely fubdued. These Proceedings were very disagreeable to Lodovico, and gave him a Handle to lay an Embargo on Twelve Gallies that were equipping for the King

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at Genoa; and also to order that no Ves- A. D. fels should be armed for the French Service in that Port. The King made great Complaints of this Usage, which he gave for a Reason of his not having been able to renew his Attack on Ischia with a greater Force.

JEALOUSIES and Discontents thus daily Halian increasing in all Parts, and the sudden Ac-Powers quisition of Naples representing to Lodo-alarmed. vico, and the Venetians, the Danger greater and nearer at hand, they were necessitated to defer no longer the Execution of their Schemes, and they engaged the more readily as they were fure of powerful Confederates: For the Pope, who was exceffively terrified at the French, was not less ready to come into their Measures. what the Senate and Sforza laid the greatest and most solid Foundation on was the Affistance of Ferdinando and Isabella Sovereigns of Spain. In their late Treaty with the King of France, they having engaged not to molest him in the Acquifition of Naples, folely with a View of inducing him to restore the County of Rous-VOL. I. fillon,

A. D. fillon, had craftily left themselves at Li1495. berty to act the contrary; for (if the Report be true which they gave out) there was added to the Articles of that Restitution a Clause, from which they inferred, that if the Pontiss, for the Interest of his Fief, should require them to affish the Kingdom of Naples, they were at liberty to do it without any Infringement of their Faith and Promises.

Bur be this as it will, certain it is that, as foon as they had recovered these Towns, they not only began to give Hopes of their Affistance to the Aragonians, and earnestly underhand intreated the Pope not to abandon their Cause, but exhorted the King of France, first in a friendly manner, as defirous of his Glory, and out of Zeal for Religion, that he would turn his Arms rather against Infidels than against Christians; and afterwards pressed the fame with more Vehemence, and in Terms more suspicious, according to the Progress he made towards Naples. And that their Representations might be accompanied with greater Weight, and also to feed the Pope

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Pope and Aragonians with greater Hopes, under Colour of fecuring Sicily, they prepared a Fleet, which, however, did not arrive till Naples was loft; and, according to their Custom of promising more than they effected, this Armada had only on board Eight Hundred Gennets, and a Thousand Spanish Foot. They proceeded in this diffembling Manner till the Colonnas had feized on Oflia, and the Threats uttered by the King of France against the Pope gave them a more plaufible Reafon to discover what they had already conceived in their Minds. They then (which was before the King left Florence) publicly declared, by their Ambassador Antonio Fonseca, that, according to the Duty of Christian Princes, they would take under their Protection the Pope and the Kingdom of Naples, which was a Fief of the Roman Church. At the same time they began to treat of a Confederacy with the Venetians and the Duke of Milan; and, after the Flight of the Aragonians, very earnestly sollicited that, for the common Safety, they would join with them against the French. At last, in the Month of X 2 April,

A. D. April, in Venice, whither the Ambassa-1495. dors of all those Princes had reforted, a A League Confederacy was concluded between the against the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King Kiug of of Spain, the Venetians, and the Duke of France. Milan. By the Title of these Articles which were published, it appeared that the only Intent of this League was to protect each others Dominions, and all Princes were permitted to accede to it on reasonable Terms. But as they were unanimous in thinking it necessary that Charles should not keep Possession of the Kingdom of Naples, it was stipulated in the secret Articles, that the Spaniards who were come into Sicily should affist Ferdinando of Aragon in the Recovery of that Kingdom, that Prince having formed a Defign of entering Calabria, relying on the Affections of those People: That the Venetians should at the fame Time attack the maritime Coasts of the Kingdom with their Fleet: That the Duke of Milan, to prevent fresh Succours from France, should possess himself of Asti, where the Duke of Orleans was left with a few Troops; and that the Kings of the Romans and of Spain should be allowed

lowed by the other Confederates a certain A. D. Sum of Money, to enable each of them to enter France with a powerful Army. The Confederates wished also that all the Italian Powers would unanimously join them, and therefore pressed the Florentines and the Duke of Ferrara to enter into the same Confederacy. The Duke being requested before the Publication of the League, had refused to take up Arms against the King of France; yet at the same time, with an Italian Caution, permitted his eldest Son Don Alfonso to go into the Service of the Duke of Milan with an Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, under the Title of Lieutenant-General of his Forces. Different was the Case of the Florentines, who were invited into the Confederacy with large Offers, and had very just Reasons to abandon the King: For as foon as the Treaty was divulged, Lodovico Sforza engaged, in the Name of all the Confederates, that the whole Strength of the League should oppose the King, if he offered to attack them in his Return from Naples, and also affist them whenever Occasion offered in recovering Pisa and Livorno.

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A. D. vorno. On the other hand, the King, without any Regard to his Promises made in Florence, had neither put them in Posfession of their Towns, nor after the Acquisition of Naples restored their Fortresses, paying greater Deference to the Counfels of those who favouring the Pisans perfuaded him that, the Instant his Majesty restored them, the Florentines would join the rest of the Italians, than to his Word aud Oaths; and the Cardinal of San Malo very faintly opposed these Counsels, tho' he had received a large Sum of Money from the Florentines, because he did not care on their Account to enter into Difputes with the Great Men of the Court. The King had given Proofs of the small Value he fet on his Faith, and on the Importance of the Adherence of the Florentines at fuch a Juncture; for when their Ambaffadors complained of the Rebellion of Montepulciano, and defired him to oblige the Senefe to restore that Town, he anfwered, as it were in Derifion, "What can I do, if your own Subjects rebel, on account of their ill Usage?" Notwithstanding these Provocations, the Florentines

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tines would not suffer their Resentment A. D. to get the better of their Judgment where their Interest was concerned; but were determined not to hearken to the Proposals of the Confederates; being unwilling to give any fresh Occasion to provoke against them the French Arms at the King's Return, and they had also some Hopes of procuring the Restoration of their Towns when they treated with his Majesty in Perfon. Besides, they trusted little to the fair Promises of the Allies; being satisfied they were hated by the Venetians for the Oppofition they had at different Times given to their Undertakings; and well knowing that Lodovico himself aspired after the Dominion of Pifa.

TAE Credit of the French was by this III ConTime very much funk in the Kingdom of duct of the
Naples; for, by giving themselves up to
Diversions, and leaving the Government
to Chance, they had neglected to expel the
Aragonians from the sew Places they possessed, which might have easily been compassed, had they pursued their good Fortune. But the Affection of the People

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was

A. D. was much diminished, because though the 1495. King had given Marks of his Generofity on feveral Occasions by granting, in all Parts of the Kingdom, fuch Privileges and Exemptions, as amounted to above Two Hundred Thousand Ducats a Year, yet other Matters were not conducted with the Order and Prudence that were necessary: For Charles, averse to all Trouble, did not like to hear and redress Complaints, but left the Management of all weighty Affairs to his Ministers, who, either thro' Ignorance or Avarice, threw every Thing into Confufion: The Barons were not treated with Humanity, nor rewarded: They were admitted with very great Difficulty to the King's Presence; no Distinction was made between Man and Man, uor any Regard paid to Persons of Merit unless it were by Chance, no Pains taken to confirm the Disaffection of those who were naturally illdisposed towards the Aragonians: Many Difficulties and Delays were interposed to protract the Restitution of the Estates and Effects of the Anjouin Faction, and other Barons expelled by old Ferdinando. No Favours were bestowed without Bribes or

extraordinary Methods, many were deprived of their Effects without Reason,
many inriched without Cause, almost all
Posts, and the Goods of many were distributed amongst the French, and, to the vast
Displeasure of the Neapolitans, almost all
the Crown Lands) such are called those
which are under the King's immediate
Dominion) were given away, and the
greatest Part to the French.

THESE Proceedings were fo much the more grievous to the Subjects, as they had been accustomed to the prudent and orderly Government of the Aragonian Kings, and had promifed themselves great Matters from the new King. To this was added the natural Pride of the French, increafed by the Eafiness of their Victories, which inspired them with so great a Conceit of themselves that they held in Contempt all the Italians; and their Infolence and rude Behaviour in the Houses where the Men at Arms were quartered, as much in Naples, as all over the Kingdom, were become insupportable. This unexpected Treatment had intirely alienated the AfD. fections of the People, and converted their 1495. former Affection into violent Hatred; and, Neopolitans difference at gonians was turned into Compassion for the French Ferdinando, from whose Virtue they had

Reason to expect great Atchievements: They called to mind his Speech, delivered with fo much Mildness and Resolution, the Day of his Daparture; in short, Naples and the whole Kingdom wanted nothing but an Opportunity to replace on the Throne that Family whose Destruction they had defired. Even the fo odious Name of Alfonso was becoming agreeable: They now calling that a just Severity which in his Father's Reign, whilft he attended to the domestic Affairs of the Kingdom was called Cruelty, and that Sincerity of an upright Heart, which they had many Years called Pride and Licentiousness. This is the Nature of the Commonalty, who are inclined to hope for more than they ought, and to put up with less than what is necessary, and are soon tired of the present; especially the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of Naples, who are remarkable

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remarkable above all the Italians for their A. D. Inconstancy and Desire of Change.

THE King, before the Forming of the The King new League, was determined to return resolves speedily into France, more out of Levity, turn into and to please all his Courtiers, who France. vehemently wished it, than out of any prudent Motive; for in his new Kingdom many most important Affairs were not yet fettled, concerning the Rights of the Princes and States, nor could the Victory be deemed compleat till the Whole was fubdued. But when the King was apprifed of this Confederacy of fo many Potentates against him, he grew very uneasy, and advised with his Ministry what was proper to be done upon fuch an unexpected Event. Every one agreed that, amongst Christian Princes, for many Ages, there had not been formed fo powerful an Alliance. It was chiefly refolved in his Council that they should hasten their Departure for France, for the longer they stayed, the greater Difficulties must arise by giving Time to the Confederacy to make greater Preparations, and it was already rumoured that

A. D. that at the Order of the Allies a great Number of Germans were to march into Italy, and that Maximilian would command them in Person: They advised, that a new Body of Troops should speedily march out of France to Asii to preserve that City, and oblige the Duke of Milan to attend to his own Defence; where also they would be in Readiness to advance whenever his Majesty should think it necessary: In the fame Council it was fettled, that Diligence should be used, and great Offers made to the Pope, to feparate him from the other Allies, and to dispose him to grant the Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples, to which, tho' he had absolutely agreed when his Majesty was in Rome, he had ever after refused it, even with a Declaration that this Concession should not prejudice the Claim of any other Prince.

Affairs of But these weighty Matters and great the Pisans Concerns did not put the Affair of Pisa out of the King's Mind, who wished, for many Reasons, to have the Disposal of that City in his Power. Therefore, as he apprehended the Citadel of that Town might be taken

taken from him by the Pisans affisted by A. D. the Allies, on the Return of the Pisan Ambaffadors, who were at his Court, he fent by Sea a Body of Six Hundred French Infantry. They, like the rest of their Countrymen, who had been left in Pifa, foon conceived an Affection for the Pisans, and after receiving a Sum of Money, in hopes of Booty, they went to affift at the Siege of Librafatta. Lucio Malvezzo, with a Body of Pisans being informed that the Florentines had fent Part of their Troops against Montepulciano, had ventured a few Days before to lay Siege to that Castle, and on hearing the French approached, had, that very Morning before Day-light, raifed the Siege, but now meeting with the French he returned to Librafatta, and took it in a few Days: For the Florentine Army, which was returning to its Succour was retained by the Waters of the River Secchia, which were rifen fo high that they could not pass it, and they durst not venture to go by the Walls of Lucca, because that Republic was violently in the Interest of the Pisans. After the taking of Librafatta, the French who kept Garrison there, together

A. D. together with the Pifans, over-run the whole Territory of Pisa, as declared Enemies to the Florentines, who made grievous Complaints to the King. But Charles made no other Answer but that on his Arrival in Tuscany he would perform all he had promifed, advising them to wait with Patience for fo little a Time.

Part of the French Army left to guard dom of Naples.

he was willing, forhe had not fo great an Army that when it was divided into two Parts the King he could conduct himself to Afti without Danger, confidering the Opposition of the Allies, and at the same Time leave a sufficient Force to protect the Kingdom of Naples against such mighty Preparations. These Difficulties constrained him to diminish the Provisions necessary for his Safety, that the Kingdom might not remain destitute of Defence; and at the fame time, not to manifestly endanger his Person, to leave fewer Troops behind him than were necesfary for the Preservation of his Conquest. He then resolved to leave only one Half of the Swiss, Part of the French Infantry, Eight Hundred French Lances, and about Five

Bur the King could not fet out as foon as

Five Hundred Italian Men at Arms, which A. D. had been inlifted, Partly by the Prefect of Rome, and partly by Prospero and Fabritio Colonna, and Antonello Savelli. These Commanders had been amply rewarded by the King in his Distribution of the Towns and confiscated Estates, especially the Colonnas; for on Fabritio Charles had bestowed the Territories of Albi and Tagliacozzo, lately possessed by Virginio Orfini; and on Prospero the Dutchy of Trajetto, and the City of Fondi, with many other Castles belonging to the Family of the Gaetani; as also Monte Fortino, with the neighbouring Villages, taken from the Family of the Conti; He therefore had Reason to expect that these and several other Barons, whom he had enriched, would exert themselves, and unite with his Troops, in case of Danger, as their own Interest would be concerned in supporting his, and especially the Princes of Bifignano and Salerno, which last he had restored to the Office of Admiral. Gilbert de Monpensier was appointed Lieutenant General of the whole Kingdom. He was in greater Repute for his Quality, being of the Royal Blood, than for his Valour.

A. D. lour. Many other Officers of Note, to all of whom the King had given States and Provinces, were dispersed about the Kingdom: The chief of these were Aubigni, Governor of Calabria, created Grand-Constable; the Seneschal of Beaucaire, Governor of Gaeta, made Grand-Chamberlain; and Gratiano a Man of Valour and reputed a good Officer, to whom was committed the Care of the Abruzzi. The King promised to fend them very speedily Reinforcements and Money; but he left them no other Provision than an Assignment of the daily Produce of the Finances, which was very precarious, the Aragonian Name Ferdinan- gaining Ground in many Places. For, just before Charles's Departure, Ferdinando was landed in Calabria with the Spanish Soldiers that came with the Fleet into Sicily; many of the Inhabitants of those Districts im-

> mediately flocking about him, he foon made himself Master of the City of Reggio, the Castle having always held out for him: At the same time the Venetian Fleet, commanded by Antonio Grimani, a Person of great Authority in the Republic, appeared on the Coasts of Puglia. But neither

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do in Ca-Labria.

these, nor any other Indications of a su-A. D. ture Change, were sufficient to put off, or retard the King's Return. For, besides the Necessity which he had persuaded himself there was for his Departure, 'tis incredible what Eagerness both he and all his Court expressed to return to France; as if Fortune, which had been sufficient to obtain him so greata Victory, was alone sufficient to preserve it.

THE Islands of Ischia and Lipari, tho' near to Sicily, belonged to the Kingdom of Naples, and continued in Ferdinando's Possession. Reggio in Calabria was newly recovered, as was Terra Nuova, and its Citadel, with some other Forts and adjacent Villages in the same Province; Brindis, whither Federigo had retired, Gallipoli, Mantia, and Turpia, were likewise in the Hands of the Aragonians.

BEFORE the King left Naples he be-King of gan to treat with the Pope on feveral France Points, not without fome Hopes of Suctite Pope. cefs. Alexander's Agent, on this Occasion, was Cardinal San Dionigi, and Mons.

Vol. I. Y Franzi

A, D. Franzi was the King's Minister. The Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples was what the King chiefly defired, and that if his Holiness had Reasons not to declare in his Favour, he would at least not join his Enemies, but admit him into Rome as a Friend. Alexander at first feemed willing to comply; but not being able to persuade himself to trust the King, and therefore not willing to feparate himfelf from the Allies, or confer on him the Investiture, which he thought would not be Inducement enough for a fincere Reconciliation, and therefore diffident of the King's Mind, he interposed various Difficulties to his other Demands, and tho' the King submitted to the Investiture without Prejudice to any one's Right, he replied, he would first have the Right judicially examined. On the other hand, being defirous to prevent with an armed Force the King's Entrance into Rome, he defired the Venetians and Lodovico to fend him a Body of Troops; and they dispatched to his Affistance a Thousand light Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, and promised him also a Thousand Men at Arms, which with

## THE WARSIN ITALY.

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with his own Forces he thought fufficient for his Purpose. But soon after they began to apprehend it would be very dangerous to fend their Men fo far from their own States whilst their Army was not yet all affembled, one Part of it being already employed against Asti: Besides, they distrusted the Pope's Fidelity, on recollecting that, after fending for Ferdinando to come into Rome with his Army, he had obliged him to depart. On these Considerations they persuaded the Pope rather to retire into some strong Place, than, by undertaking the Defence of Rome, expose his Person to so great a Peril; for though the King should enter Rome, he would foon depart without leaving behind him any Troops. These Proceedings increased the Hopes Charles had conceived of prevailing on the Pope to enter into some Agreement with him.

THE King then left Naples the 20th of Charles May, but as he had not yet, with the usual King of Ceremonies, affumed the Title and Royal Naples. Enfigns, a few Days before his Departure he was folemnly crowned with great Pomp

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and

a. D. and Celebrity in the Cathedral, and received the Honours and Oaths of Allegiance paid on fuch Occasions to new
Kings. Joviano Pontano made an Oration
in the Name of the Neapolitan People.
He was a Person very famous for his excellent Learning and Politeness, which
gave no small Credit to his Speech; for
having been long Secretary to the Aragonian Kings, they entertained so high an
Opinion of his Merit, that they had made
him Tutor and School-master to Alsonso.
It was thought that, to keep up to the
Rules of Oratory, or to render himself

Pontano, endued with so great a Stock of Learning, and writing so freely on moral Virtues, and making himself, by his astonishing Progress in all Sorts of Learning, the Wonder of the World, had acted the

Part of a Dictator to all Mankind.

more agreeable to the French, he expatiated too copiously in Dispraise of those Kings who had so much exalted him. So disficult it is to observe ourselves that Moderation and those Precepts with which

CHARLES

1495. CHARLES was accompanied by Eight Hundred French Lances, the Two Hundred Departs from Na-Gentlemen of his Guard, Trivulzi with aples. Hundred Lances, Three Thousand Swifs, a Thousand French, and a Thousand Gascon Foot, and gave Orders to Camillo Vitelli and his Brothers to join him in Tuscany with Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and for the Fleet to return to Livorno. Virginio Orfini, and Count Piti-The Cafe gliano, followed without any other Guard of Virgithan their Parole, but as they complained nio Orfini, that they were unjustly made Prisoners, Pitigliano, their Cause was laid before the Royal Council, where they alledged that when they furrendered, their Messengers had not only been granted a Pass from the King's Mouth, but that his Majesty, after it had been drawn out in writing had figned it with his own Hand: That they being informed of this by their Messengers, before the Pass was expedited by the Secretaries, under this Affurance, at the first Summons of a Herald, had erected in Nola the King's Standard, and delivered the Keys to the French

A. D. French Officer, who came with a few Horse, though they had with them above Four Hundred Men at Arms, and could easily have made a Resistance. They then pleaded the ancient Attachment of the Family of the Orsini, pleading how they had ever been of the Guelf Party, that both themselves and every one that had ever been born, or should be born of that House, had or would have engraven in his Heart the Name and Enfign of the Crown of France, for which Reason they had so readily admitted the King into their Dominions in the Roman Territory; and therefore infisted that, both in regard to their Behaviour, and the King's Faith, it was neither reasonable nor just that they should be detained Prisoners. But they were sharply answered by Ligni, whose Regiment had taken them at Nola, that a Pass, though granted and figned by the King, was of no Force nor perfected till corroborated with the Royal Seal, figned by the Secretaries, and delivered to the Party: That this had ever been the most ancient Rule and Standard of all Courts in Concessions and Patents. The Reason was, that unguarded Expressions from the Prince, who is supposed

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posed to be continually engaged in a Multiplicity of Business, and might not be fully informed of Facts, should be regulated by this Form: That their Dependance on this Pass had not been their Inducement to furrender to fo fmall a Force; they had acted out of Necessity and Fear, for it was not at that Time in their Power either to refift or fly, all the Country around them being in the Hands of the Conquerors: That what they alledged by way of Merit was false, and, if afferted by others, they ought to deny it out of Regard to their own Honour, it being well known to the whole World, that not voluntarily, but to avoid Danger, they abandoned, in their atmost Distress, the Aragonians, who in their Prosperity had loaded them with Favours, and opened the Gates of their Towns to the King, who having furprifed themata Time when they were in the Enemy's Pay, utterly averse to the French Interest, and without any just Security given, the Rules of War had constituted them legal Prisoners. These Reasonings, supported against the Orsini by the Power of Ligni, and the Authority of the Colonnas, who, on account of their ancient Emulation and

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Diversity

A. D. Diversity of Faction, openly opposed them, 1495. prevented the paffing of any Sentence, and it was resolved they should follow the King, with Hopes, however, of their being fet at Liberty as foon as they arrived at Afti.

The Pope BurthePope, tho' perfuaded by the Allies

from Rome to quit Rome, was fometimes inclined to reconcile himself with Charles, and continued to treat with him: Yet at last his Suspicions got the better, and two Days before the King entered Rome, tho' he gave his Majesty some Hopes of waiting for him, accompanied by the College of Cardinals, Two Hundred Men at Arms, a Thousand light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, he retired to Orvicto, after leaving a fufficient Garrison in Castel Sant' Angelo, and the Cardinal of Sant' Anastasia his Legate, toreceive and compliment the King, who entered Rome by Trastevere, to avoid passing Castel Sant' Angelo, and took up his Quarters in the Suburbs, refusing to lodge in the Palace of the Vatican, which, by the Pope's Order, had been prepared for his Reception. Alexander removed from Orvieto to Perugia, as foon

Charles enters Rome.

# THE WARS IN ITALY.

A. D. foon as he was informed of the King's Approach to Viterbo, notwithstanding he had again promifed to meet him in some convenient Place, between that Town and Orvieto; and had Charles taken that Rout and followed him, he was determined to retire to Ancona, and taking the Advantage of the Sea fail from thence to some Place where he might be in perfect Safety from being molested. The King, tho' highly provoked, restored the Citadels of Civita Vecchia, and Terracina, referving on-

ly Oftia, which on his leaving Italy he put under the Care of the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, Bishop of that Place, and continued his March through the Ecclefiaftical Dominious, as through a friendly Country, without committing any Hostilities, excepting at Toscanella, where his Van being refused Entrance, they took the Town by Assault, plundered it, and put

many to the Sword.

CHARLES, after this, to no manner of Charles at Purpose, stayed fix Days at Siena, without Siena. confidering with himfelf, or giving Heed to the pressing Instances of the Cardinal of

San

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1495.

1495-

A. D. San Piero in Vincola and Trivulzi, who remonstrated how dangerous it might prove te give the Enemy Time to get ready, and unite their Forces. Nor did he make any fort of Amends for this Loss of Time, by any prudent Resolution. For in Siena a Confultation was held concerning the Restitution of the Fortresles of the Florentines, folemnly promifed by the King at his Departure from Naples, and afterwards several times confirmed on his March; the Florentines not only being ready to pay the Thirty Thousand Ducats, which were the Refidue of what was due by Agreement, but also to lend him Seventy Thousand more, and to fend Francesco Secco, their General, to accompany him as far as Afti, with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thousand Foot. Hence the Necesfity the King had for Money, the Prospect of augmenting his Army, and a Regard to his Royal Word and Oaths, induced almost every one of his Council earnestly to perfuade him to give up all but Pietra Santa, and Sarzana, as they might be of Use to bring the Genoese into his Interest. But Fate had decreed that a Match should be left

#### THE WARS IN ITALY.

left behind, to fet Italy once more in a A

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LIGNI, an unexperienced Youth, born of a Sister of the King's Mother, was very much in Favour: He, actuated by Levity, or angry that the Florentines had attached themselves to the Cardinal of San Malo, prevented this Restitution with no other Arguments than setting forth the Compassion due to the Pisans, making the Assistance of the Florentines appear despicable, and boasting that the French Forces were sufficient to beat all the Italian Armies united together. Ligni was seconded by Mons. de Pienes, who expected to be made Governor of Pisa and Livorno.

ANOTHER Council was held in Siena, Siena takconcerning the Government of that City; en into
the King's
for several of the Orders of the People and Protection
Reformers insisted on a new Form, that
they might depress the Power of the Order del Monte de' Nove, and required that
their Guard should be removed from the
Town-house, and a French one placed un-

der

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der Ligni. This Demand was rejected in the Council as a Measure improper at that Juncture, and not durable for any Length of Time: But Ligni, who vainly expected to make himself Sovereign of Siena, prevailed on the King to take that City and its State into his Protection, except Montepulciano, his Majesty not thinking it proper to intermeddle in the Disputes between the Florentines and Senese concerning that Town. Hence, with the King's Approbation the Community of Siena, tho' it was not mentioned in the Capitulation, chose, with the King's Consent, Ligni for their Commander, and affigned him a Salary of Twenty Thousand Ducats a Year, Ligni engaging to leave a Lieutenant with three Hundred Foot to guard the Palace, which he did of those who were in the French Army. The Weakness of this Deliberation foon appeared; for not long after the Magistracy de' Nove recovered by Force of Arms their usual Authority, expelled this Guard, and dismissed Mons. de Liste, whom Charles had left as his Ambassador.

1495. ALL this while the Affairs of the Allies in Lombardy advanced very brifkly. dovico had received from Cafar, with great with the Solemnity, the Investiture of the Dutchy of Milan. Milan, paid Homage in Public, and taken the Oath of Fidelity to the Ambassador who brought the Act, and, in concert with the Venetians, had made vast Preparations to obstruct the King's Return into France, or at least to secure the Dutchy of Milan, through a long Tract of which he was to travel: For this Purpose they both, after reviewing their Troops, made new Levies of Men at Arms, to be maintained, part at their feparate Expence, and part in common. And, though with fome Difficulty, they prevailed on Giovanni Bentivoglio to accept a Salary from both, on his obliging the City of Bologna to declare for the League. For the Security Lodovico's also of Genoa, Lodovico armed Ten Gallies Preparatiat his own Expence: And the Pope, in onsagainst the King. concert with the Venetians, joined with him in the Charge of providing and maintaining Four large Ships. And being obliged by the Convention to lay Siege to Afti, he

A. D. had already fent into Germany to inlift Two Thousand Foot, and ordered Galeazzo da San Severino, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thousand Foot, to undertake that Expedition. And as he was naturally very infolent in Prosperity, promising himself a sure Victory, out of Contempt, he fent the Duke of Orleans a rude Message, ordering him to usurp no longer the Title of Duke of Milan, which Charles, the Duke's Father, had affumed after the Death of Filippo Maria Visconti; not to permit any more French Troops to come into Italy; to fend back those with him; and, for his Security of the Performance of these Demands, to put Asti into the Hands of Galeazzo da San Se= verino, in whom his King might confide as much as in himfelf, having the Year before, in France, admitted him into the Fraternity of his own Order of St. Michael. He then magnified and boafted of his Forces, of the mighty Preparations of the Confederates to oppose the King of France in Italy, and how the King of the Romans, and the Sovereigns of Spain were making ready to carry on a War beyond the Alps. The Duke of Orleans paying little Regard to thefe

these vain Menaces, on the first Notice of A. D. the Negociations for a new Confederacy, had attended to fortify Afti, and follicited earnestly for a Supply of Troops from France. And as the King had fent Orders for new Levies to reinforce his own Army, they were making hafty Marches over the Mountains, which enabled him to take the Field and act offensively. In the Marquisate of Saluzzo he took the Town and Castle of Gualfinara, possessed by Antonio Maria da San Severino, which obliged Galeazzo, who had before taken fome fmall Castles, to retire with his Army to Anon, a Town of the Milanese near Asti. where he remained without Hopes of attacking, but also without Fear of being attacked.

Lodovico was naturally inclined to enter into very expensive Schemes, but when they were ripe for Execution was unwilling to part with his Money; a Conduct which exposed his Dominions, at this Juncture, to great Danger. For very few German Soldiers had enlisted when they found Money was scarce; and for

companied Galeazzo every Day diminished. Ou the other Hand, the Duke of Orleans's Army continually increased; for the French marched chearfully out of France, to the Succour of the King's Perfon.

ORLEANS had already got together Three Hundred Lances, Three Thousand Swifs, and the like Number of Gascons. And though Charles had strictly ordered him not to undertake any Thing, that he might be ready on the first Notice to come and meet him; yet, as it is difficult to refift what appears beneficial, he refolved to lay hold of the Opportunity of feizing on the City of Novara, into which he was offered to be introduced by the Opizini Caccia, Noblemen of that City, who were greatly incenfed against Lodovico for having usurped from them, and many other Citizens, certain Aqueducts, and other Possessions, by corrupting Witnesses to fwear falfly before the Judges. The Duke of Orleans, after fettling with the Opizini the Manner, accompanied by Lodovico, Marquis

1495.

Marquis of Saluzzo, in the Night passed A. D. the Po, at the Bridge of Stura, in the Marquis of Montferrato's Dominions, and, TheDuke without meeting with any Refistance, was takes Poflet into Novara by the Conspirators; from fession of whence he made continual Excursions with Parties of his Horse, as far as Vigevano; and it was thought, if he had marched directly towards Milan with the Army, he would have excited great Commotions; for as foon as the Milanese heard that Novara was taken, they feemed very much inclined to revolt. Lodovico was not less dejected in Adversity than elated in Profperity, and as indeed Infolence and Timidity almost constantly meet together in the fame Subject, fo now Lodovico, with unprofitable Tears, discovered his Pusillanimity, when he found his Troops with Galeaz-20, on which only depended his Defence, durst not appear before the Enemy. But the Condition and Diforder of an Enemy not being always known to the Generals, for Want of fuch Intelligence, the fairest Opportunities in Wars are often lost, nor indeed did it appear probable that fo fudden a Change could happen in a Prince of fo much Power.

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ORLEANS, to fecure his new Acquisition, laid Siege to the Citadel, which the fifth Day agreed to furrender, if it was not fuccoured in Twenty-four Hours: But, during that fmall Interval, San Severino had Time to collect his Troops in Vigevano; and the Duke, to reconcile himself to his People, had by Proclamation taken off feveral Taxes which he had laid to increase his Army. The Duke of Orleans, however, approaching with his Troops to the Walls of Vigevano, offered the Enemy Battle; but Sforza's Men were terrified, and rather inclined to abandon the Town, and pass the River Tesmo on a Bridge of Boats they had laid. When the Duke found he could not bring them to an Engagement he went to Trecas, and from that Time Lodovico's Affairs took a prosperous Turn, his Army increasing daily, both with Horse and Foot; for the Venetians, being content to take on themselves the Care of opposing the King, permitted him to recal Part of the Troops he had in the Parmesan, and fent him also Four Hundred of their Stradiotti. This prevented Orleans from advancing;

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vancing; and a Party of Five Hundred of A. D. his Horse, that had made an Excursion to Vigevano, was repulsed with Loss by a Sally from that Town. San Severino, superior now in Strength, marched to Trecas, and offered Battle in his Turn, and at last having got together his whole Army, which consisted of the Italian Foot, besides a Thousand German Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, lately arrived, he encamped within a Mile of Novara, to which Place Orleans was retired with all his Forces.

THE News of the Rebellion of Novara Charles put Charles, who was at Siena, on hasten-marches ing his March: And to avoid every Thing to Pisa. that might retard him, hearing that the Florentines, admonished by their late Dangers, and being under Suspicions, because Piero de' Medici attended him, tho' they had appointed to receive him in Florence with the greatest Demonstrations of Honour, had for their Security filled the City with Soldiers and Arms, he passed thro' the Florentine Dominion to Pisa, leaving Florence on his Right. At Poggibonzi he

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A. D. was met by Girolamo Savonarola, who, according to his Custom, mixing the Divine Name and Authority with his Speeches, earnestly exhorted him to restore the Fortreffes of the Florentines: to his Perfuafions adding most grievous Threats that, if he hesitated to observe what he had so solemnly fwore, laying his Hand on the Gofpels, and, as may be faid, before the Eyes of God, he would be punished by Heaven in a most severe Manner. The King, with his usual Inconstancy, then, and the Day following, at Castel Fiorentino, gave him different Answers; sometimes promifing to restore them on his Arrival at Pisa; at others refusing, pretending his Oaths could not be binding, because he had previously engaged with the Pifans to preserve their Liberty; yet he constantly gave Hopes to the Republic's Ambaffadors that he would reftore them on his Arrival at Pifa. When he came thither this Affair was again proposed in Council; for News increasing every Day of the great Preparations of the Confederates Army, and of their being all joined near Parma, they began to confider the Difficulties

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Difficulties of passing thro' Lombardy, and therefore were defirous of the large Sum of \_ Money and Auxiliaries offered by the Florentines. But this Advice was opposed by the fame Persons who had opposed it at Siena; they said, if the Army should be put into Disorder by the Enemy, or meet with Difficulties in their March thro' Lombardy, it was better to be affured of the Town of Pisa, whither they might safely retreat, than to leave it in the Hands of the Florentines, who, when once in Possession of their Towns, would be as treacherous as the rest of the Italians had been; adding that, for the Preservation of the Kingdom of Naples, it was very convenient the King should be possessed of the Port of Livorno; for when he had altered, as he defigned, and was to be hoped, the Government of Genoa, he would then, in a manner, be Master of all the Sea Coast from Marseilles to Naples.

CERTAIN it is that these Reasons had some Weight with Charles, who was not of himself capable of chusing for the best. But he was much more moved by the Supplica-

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A. D. plications and Tears of the Pifans; who, in great Numbers, presented themselves before him, with their Wives and little Children, and falling fometimes proftrate at his Feet, and fometimes, with miferable Cries, telling their Case even to the meanest of the Courtiers and Soldiers, with most bitter Lamentations, and miserable Wailings, deplored their future Calamities, the implacable Hatred of the Florentines, and the entire Desolation of their Country, which they should not have Cause to lament if the King himself had not given them their Liberty; for believing that the Words of the most Christian King of France were Words firm and stable, they had been the more emboldened to provoke the Enmity of the Florentines. With these Complaints and Exclamations they melted the Hearts of the very private Men at Arms, the Archers of the Army, and many also of the Swiss, who slocked in great Numbers, in a tumultuous Manner, to the King; and Salazart, one of the Pensioners, in the Name of the rest, addreffed him, earnestly folliciting that, for the Honour of his own Person, for the Glory

Glory of the Crown of France, for the A. D. Comfort of so many of his Servants, who were ready at all times to lay down their Lives for him, and who counfelled him with more Fidelity than those who were corrupted with the Money of the Florentines, he would not deprive the Pisans of that Benefit he had himself procured them; and that Want of Money might not induce him to commit so infamous an Action, bid him rather take their Collars, Plate, and stop their Pensions and Pay. This Tumult had got to fuch a Head, that a private Archer was bold enough to threaten the Cardinal of St. Malo; others talked in high Terms to the Marshal Gié, and the President Gannay, who, they knew, counselled this Restitution. Such a Variety of Counsels so distracted the King's Mind, that he kept the Affair in Suspense, and was at a Loss how to act: Sometimes he renewed his Promises to the Pisans, never to give them up; then he would fend to the Florentine Ministers, who waited at Lucca, to let them know that, what for weighty Reasons he could not do then, he would perform as foon as he arrived at

Aftis

A. D. Asti, whither he defired the Republic would fend their Ambassadors. He left Pisa, after changing the Governor of the Citadel, and placing therein a fufficient Garrifon, as he did in the Castles of the other Towns; and being of himself very anxious to get Possession of Genoa, and at the same time instigated by the Cardinals of San Piero in Vincola, and Fregoso, Objetto dal Fiefco, and many other outlawed Persons, who gave him great Hopes that with much Ease a Revolution might be brought about, he fent with them from Sarzana on that Enterprize Monf. Filippo, with a Hundred and Twenty Lances, and Five Hundred Foot, who were just arrived by Sea from France, contrary to the Advice of his whole Council, who blamed the Diminution of the Army: He also gave Orders that the Men at Arms of the Vitelli which were not come up Time enough to join him, should follow them; that a Body of Soldiers fent him by the Duke of Savov, with some Exiles should enter the Western Riviera, and for the Fleet, now reduced to Seven Gallies, two Galleons, and two

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fmall Vessels, under Miolans, to go and af- A. D. fift the Land-Forces.

In the mean Time the Avant-Guard, conducted by Marshal Gie, was come to Pontremoli, where the Townsmen dismisfed the Garrison they entertained of Three Hundred Men, and, at the Persuasion of Trivulzi, furrendered on Condition they should not be molested in their Perfons or Effects. But the Capitulation did them no Service, for the Swifs, to revenge the Death of about Forty of their Comrades killed by those of Pontremoli, on account of a Dispute risen by Chance, when the King's Army passed thro' the Lunigiana, entering furiously into the Town plundered and burnt it, and cruelly put all the Inhabitants to the Sword.

THE Confederates, in the mean Time, were bufy in getting together their Army in the Parmesan, which consisted of Two Thousand Five Hundred Men at Arms. Eight Thousand Foot, and above Two Thousand light Horse; the most of these last were of Albania, and other adjacent Pro324

A. D. Provinces of Greece, who had been brought into Italy by the Venetians, and retained their own Country Name of Stradiotti: The principal Part of this Army confifted of the Troops of that Republic; for those of Lodovico, who had employed almost all his Forces against Novara, did not exceed a Quarter of the Whole. Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantoua, a very young Prince, from whom, on Account of his Valour and Thirst after Glory much more was expected than is from one of his Age, was declared Governor General of the Venetian Forces, amongst whom were many Officers of great Renown. Luca Pifano, and Marchione Trevifano, both Men of great Weight in the Senate, were fent as Proveditors. The Duke of Milan's Troops were commanded by Count Gajazzo, who had also the Title of Governor, and was Lodovico's principal Favourite, but in the Knowledge of military Affairs no Way equal to his Father Roberto da San Severino, for this Count acquired the Name of being rather a cautious than enterprizing Officer. With him was appointed Commissary Francesco Bernardo Viscon-

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ti, Head of the Ghibelline Faction in Milan, and, therefore, opposite to Gianjacopo Trivulzi. A Council of War being held, by the Generals and principal Officers of the Army, after some Debates whether it would not be proper to march to Formuovo, a small Village situated at the Foot of the Mountains, it was refolved, confidering the Narrowness of that Place, to advance only, within three Miles of it, to the Abbey of Ghiaruola, which, being in an open Country, might, perhaps, entice the French to come into the Plain. This Refolution gave an Opportunity for the King's Van-Guard to lodge in Fornuovo, for it had paffed the Mountain long before the rest of the Army, which had been retarded on account of the Difficulty in moving the heavy Artillery over the rough Appennine; and the Difficulty would have been greater, if the Swifs, desirous to make Amends for the Injury done to the King's Honour in the Sack of Pontremoli, had not with immense Labour given their Affistance.

As foon as the Van arrived at Fornuovo, the Marshal de Gié sent a Trumpet to the Italian Camp, to demand, in the Name of the King, a Passage for the Army, which intending to hurt no body, and to payareasonable Price for Provisions, was returning that Way into France. At the same time he sent a Party of Horse, to get Intelligence of the Condition of the Country and the Enemy's Army; but they were foon put to Flight by some Stradiotti, sent against them by Francesco Gonzaga: And it was thought, that if the Italians had then attacked the French Camp they might have eafily routed their Van, which must have prevented the Royal Army from advancing. They had much the fame Opportunity offered the next Day, notwithstanding that the Marshal, apprised of the Danger, was retired a little higher up the Mountain. But the Italian Commanders had not Resolution to march and attack them, deterred by the Strength of the Enemy's Situation, or imagining the Van to be more numerous, and the rest of the Army nearer than it was: Besides, it is cer-

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tain that at that Instant the Venetians, by A. D. delaying to join their Troops in their Camp 1495. at Ghiaruola, were not yet all affembled; which makes it manifest that if Charles had not loitered without any Occasion at Siena, Pisa, and many other Places, he might have made his Way without Impediment or Opposition. Having at last joined his Van, he lodged with his whole Army the next Day at Fornuovo. The Confederates never thought it likely that the King, with an Army fo inferior to theirs, would have attempted to pass the Appennine by the direct Road; and therefore they at first imagined his Defign was to leave the most of his Men at Pisa, and with the Remainder embark on board his Fleet: And. even when they heard of his having begun his March they fancied that, to avoid them, he intended to pass through the Village of Valditara, and over the Mountain of Cento Croce, which is rugged and difficult, and so descend into the Tortonese, in Hopes of meeting the Duke of Orleans in the Neighbourhood of Alessandria. But when they were convinced that he directed his March to Fornuovo, the Italian Army,

A. D. Army, whose Spirits hitherto had been kept up by the comfortable Speeches of fo many General Officers, and by the Report of the small Number of the Enemy, began now to be a little discouraged: They confidered the Bravery of the French Lances, and the Intrepidity of the Swiss, to whom without Comparison the Italian Infantry was inferior, their Dexterity in the Management of the Artillery, and (what most affects Men when they have taken a different Impression) the unexpected Courage of the French in approaching them with fuch unequal Forces. These Confiderations had damped the Minds even of the Officers, and put them on confulting amongst themselves what Answer to give the Trumpet fent by the Marshal. It seeming very dangerous to fome that the Fate of Italy should be left to the Discretion of Fortune: But to others it appeared infamous that the Italian Soldiery should betray fuch Fear of a French Army fo much inferior in Number, as to fuffer them to make their Way, before their Eyes, without Opposition. The Opinions being different, after many Disputes, it was agreed

to give Notice at Milan of the King's Request, and then to act as the Duke and the Ambassadors of the Allies, who resided there, should unanimously direct. The Duke and the Minister of the Venetians, whose States lay nearest the Danger, were both of the same Mind, that it was not prudent to block up the Road to a departing Enemy, but, on the contrary, according to the Proverb, make them a Silver Bridge: Otherwise it might so happen, (as could be proved by numberless Examples) that Neceffity, converted into Despair, might open itself a bloody Passage through an Army indifcreetly offering to make an Opposition. But the Spanish Ambassador, whose Sovereigns ran no Risque, said, Fortune was to be tried, and infifted strenuously, almost in the Nature of a Protest, on not permitting the King to pass, and letting slip such an Opportunity of defeating his Army; for, if it passed safely, the Affairs of Italy would remain in the same perilous Situation, and even exposed to greater Dangers than before: For the King of France, by being in Possession of Asti and Novara, could command all Piedmont; and having behind him

A. D. him the Kingdom of France, a Kingdom fo powerful and rich, the Swifs his Neighbours, always disposed to enlist under him in what Numbers he required, and finding himself increased in Reputation and Spirits, if the Allied Army, fo much fuperior, should so vilely give Way, he would continue to oppress Italy with greater Fierceness: That his Sovereigns must of Necessity alter their Resolutions, if the Italians would not, or had not Courage to fight the French. But the fafest Opinion prevailing in the Council, it was refolved to write to Venice, where they knew the Senate would be of the same Mind. But all Consultations were needless: For the Generals, after writing to Milan, confidered that an Answer could not return in Time, and that it would be an infamous Reflection on the Italian Soldiery if they permitted the French a free Passage; so difmiffing the Trumpet without any positive Answer, they determined to attack the Enemy as they advanced, and both the Venetian Proveditors concurred with the rest in this Determination, tho' Trevisano with greater Readiness than his Colleague.

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On the other hand, the French eame on full of Arrogance, and Resolution; and, as they had hitherto found no Refistance in Italy, were fully persuaded that the Enemy would not offer to oppose them, and, if they did, would foon be put to Flight; fo despicable an Opinion they entertained of the Italian Arms! Yet when, from the Descent of the Mountain, they discovered the Encampment, obferved the infinite Number of Tents and Pavilions, with the vast Tract of Land they covered (for, according to the Italian Custom, the Camp was formed on as much Ground as would have ranged the whole Army in Battle Array) and the great Number of their Enemies, who would hardly have come fo near them, had they not been determined to fight, their Arrogance so far cooled, as to wish they might receive the happy News that the Italians were content to allow them a free Passage, and so much the more when they found themselves disappointed of the Assistance of the Duke of Orleans. That Duke, according to Orders, had promifed to be on VOL. I. Aa the

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A, D. the Third of July at Piacenza, with all the Forces he could draw together to meet the King: But on fresh Notice that Sforza's Army, which opposed him, confisted of Nine Hundred Men at Arms, Twelve Hundred light Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, he had now fent Word, that it was impossible to advance without certain Danger before so powerful a Force, especially as he had been obliged to diminish his own Army by leaving Garrisons in Asi and Novara. This Disappointment put the King under a Necessity of altering his Measures. Mons. Philippe D'Argenton was lately come from Venice, where he had been Ambassador: Before his Departure he had promised Pisano and Trevisano, the then declared Proveditors, to use his best Endeavours to dispose the King to Peace. Charles now commissioned him to send a Trumpet to these Proveditors, with a Letter, intimating that he had fomething to impart to them relating to the common Welfare. They agreed to meet him next Morning, at a convenient Place between the two Armies. But Charles, either for want of Provisions in the Situation he was

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in, or for fome other Reason, changing A. D. his Mind, determined not to wait in that Place for the Result of this Meeting.

THE Fronts of the two Camps were not Three Miles afunder, both extended along the Bank of the River Taro; which deferves rather the Name of a Torrent than of a River: It rifes in the Appennine Mountains, and, after running some time through a fmall Vale fituated between two Hills, spreads in the great Plain of Lombardy, and then empties itself into the Po. On the Right of these two Hills, down to the Banks of the River, the Allied Army was posted: This Side was preferred by the Generals to the Left, where the Enemies were to march, to prevent them from turning towards Parma; because that City, being full of different Factions, was suspected by the Duke of Milan; and more so since the King had obtained Leave from the Florentines, even from the Time he was at Asti, to take Francesco Secco into his Service, whose Daughter was married into the noble and powerful Family of the Torelli in the Parmesan.

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THE Camp of the Allies was fortified with Ditches and Ramparts, and abounded with Artillery, under which the French could not avoid paffing in their Way to Asi, for as they were to cross the Taro near Fornuovo, that River only would separate the two Armies. The French had but little Rest all that Night; for the Italians ordered the Stradiotti to ride up to their very Camp, and they were so disturbed with these Alarums that they were often calling to Arms. There fell also a sudden and very heavy Rain, mixed with terrible Lightening, and many horrible Thunderbolts, which feemed to prognofficate fome fatal Calamity: But the French were much more terrified than the Italians, not only for being in the midst of Mountains and Enemies, and in a Place where any unlucky Accident happening they had no Hopes of faving themselves, and therefore, labouring under much greater Difficulties, had greater Reason to fear, but also because it was thought that whenever

Heaven manifested its Anger, it was on some grand Occasion, and therefore seemed

to point rather to that Part where was pre- A. D. fent the Person of a King of such great Power and Dignity. The Morning following, which was the 6th of July, the French began at Day-break to pass the River. The greatest Part of the Artillery preceded the Van, which the King supposed was to bear the greatest Shock, and had therefore placed in it Three Hundred and Fifty French Lances, Trivulzi with his own Hundred Lances, and Three Thousand Swiss, who were the Sinews and Hopes of the Army; and with them on Foot Engilberto, Brother to the Duke of Cleves, and the Bailiff of Dijon, who had inlifted them: To these he added Three Hundred Archers on Foot, some Cross-Bows of his Guards on Horseback, and the best Part of his Foot. Next to the Van followed the main Body, in the midst of which the King was seated, in full Armour, on a mettlesome Courser: near him rode Mons. de la Tremouille, an Officer of great Renown in the Kingdom of France, who with his Counsel and Authority was to rule that Part of the Army:

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by Count de Foix, and lastly the Carriages.
But Charles, still desirous of Peace, whilst his Troops were in Motion, ordered again Argenton to treat with the Venetian Proveditors. But on the Motion of the French, all the Italian Army having put themselves in Arms, and the Generals being determined to fight, they were so far advanced that the Vicinity of the two Armies did not admit of Time, nor so much as a Place for a Conference.

The light Horse began to skirmish, and the Artillery to roar from all Parts, all the Italians were come out of their Camp, and were extending their Squadrons along the Banks of the Taro in Order of Battle. The French, notwithstanding, continued their March, Part on the stoney Beach, for the Plain between was too narrow to contain their Squadrons, and Part on the Declivity of the Hill. As soon as the Van of the French was advanced over against the Enemy's Camp, the Marquis of Mantoua with a Body of Six Hundred Men at Arms, who were the Flower of the Allied Army,

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a large Band of Stradiotti, some light Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, croffed the River beyond the Rear of the French, having before left on the Banks Antonio da Montefeltro, a natural Son of Federigo late Duke of Urbino, with a numerous Squadron, with Orders to pass and come to his Affiftance if called, or to reinforce others on Occasion. He commanded another Body of light Horse, as soon as the Action began, to attack the Enemy in Flank, and the rest of the Stradiotti to pass the River at Formuovo, and affault the Baggage, which for want of Men, or by Advice, as was reported, of Trivulzi, was left exposed without any Guard to any one that attacked it. At another Place Count Galeazzo, in order to fall on the Van, croffed the Taro with Four Hundred Men at Arms and Two Thousand Foot; amongst the first was a Company belonging to Don Alfonso d'Esle, whose Father would not permit him to go in Person to the Army; he left also Count Annibale Bentivoglio, with Two Hundred Men at Arms, on the Banks, with Orders to pass the River and come to his Succour, if he should be called. The

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A. D. The Proveditors infifted that two large Companies of Men at Arms, and a Thoufand Foot, should be left to guard the Camp, as a Body of Referve against all Accidents.

Battle of

THE King observing so great a Force the Taro. falling on his Rear, of which his Officers had not been aware, turned his Back to the Van, and with the main Body marched to the Affistance of his Rear, advancing in so much Haste at the Head of one of his Squadrons, that when the Battle began he found himself in the Front of the Enemy, and was amongst the first that engaged. Some have related that the Marquis of Mantoua passed the Taro in a Sort of Disorder, occasioned by the Height of the Banks, and by Trees, Stumps and Shrubs, with which the Sides of Torrents are commonly overspread; and others add, that his Foot, by these Difficulties, and the Swelling of the River in the last Night's. Rain, entered the Battle too late, and that fome did not pass at all. But be that as it will, the Assault given by the Marquis was very refolute and furious, and was an**fwered** 

fwered with equal Fierceness and Valour. A. D. The Squadrons from all Parts in charging 1495. mingled one among another, contrary to the Custom of the Italians, who used to fight Squadron against Squadron, and when one was tired, or began to give way, another took its Place, without coming to a general Engagement till the last, when alltogether formed a large Squadron; fo that most commonly a Battle lasted a whole Day, without any great Slaughter, and often, Night coming on, the Armies feparated, without any certain Victory on either Side. The Lances being broke with the Fall of many Men at Arms and many Horses in both Armies, every one began with the same Fury to make Use of Iron Maces, Ponyards, and other short Arms; the Horses also with Kicks, Bites, and Shocks, fighting as well as the Men. In the Beginning of the Fight the Italians certainly gave very fignal Proofs of their Courage, and the Marquis in particular, who, being followed by a flout Band of young Gentlemen, and by the Spezzate Lances (these are Soldiers of Valour, not belonging to any particular Company, and

A. D. in separate Pay) encountering all Danger, omitted nothing that became a most courageous General. The French fustained with great Bravery this fierce Attack, but being overpowered by fo great an Inequality of Numbers, they manifestly began to give way, not without endangering the King; for the Bastard of Bourbon, though he fought very gallantly, was taken Prisoner within a few Yards of him; and as his Majesty had imprudently brought himself into imminent Peril without a proper Guard, or with fuch Order as was necessary for fo great a Prince, the Marquis thought he had as fine an Opportunity of taking the King, and, therefore, with many of his People, made all his Efforts to approach him, against whom Charles, with a Few about him, shewing great Boldness, defended himself nobly, tho' more by the Fierceness of his Horse than by their Assistance. In the midst of so great a Danger, he did not omit what Fears most commonly fuggest in such difficult Situations; for finding himself abandoned by almost all his People, he had recourse to heavenly Affistance, and made a Vow to St. Dennis and

St

St. Martin, reputed particular Protectors A. D. of the Kingdom of France, that if he got 1495. fafe with his Army into Piedmont, as foon as he reached his own Country, he would visit and bestow very costly Gifts on the Churches dedicated to their Names, one near Paris, the other at Tours; and that every Year he would, with the most folemn Feasts and Sacrifices, give Testimony of his Requests being granted by their Intercession. After making these Vows, his Vigour increasing, he fought with more Courage than his Strength or Constitution would permit. But the King's Danger had so much inflamed those who were the nearest, that they all flew to cover their royal Master with their Perfons, and kept back the Italians, till the main Battle, which had remained behind, came up, a Squadron of which charged fo fiercely on the Enemy's Flank, that it repressed pretty much their Fury; as did also the Death of Ridolfo Gonzaga, Uncle to the Marquis of Mantoua, a very experienced Officer; in whose Face, whilft he was acting the Part of an excellent Captain, comforting and rallying his Men, and running from Place to Place where

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where he faw the least Disorder, on listing up his Helmet, a Frenchman thrust a Dagger: He fell from his Horse, and in the Consusion and Tumult, amidst so close a Multitude of very mettlesome Horses, could receive no Help, and falling amongst Men and Horses was rather suffocated by the Crowd, than killed by the Enemy. He was the more to be pitied, because both in the Council the Day before, and that very same Morning, judging it imprudent to put so much in the Power of Fortune, without any urgent Necessity, against the Inclination of his Nephew, he had advised to avoid a Battle.

The Fight, by so many different Accidents, varying, and no Advantage of any Importance appearing on either Side, it was more than ever doubtful who would conquer; so that Fear and Hope being in an Equilibrium, they fought with incredible Ardor on both Sides, each Individual presuming the Victory depended on his particular Strength and Valour. The French were animated by the Presence and Danger of their Sovereign: For that Nation

tion was ever remarkable for adoring their A. D. Kings, and revering them as something Divine, and they were in fuch a Situation that they had no Hopes of Safety but in a Victory. Several Motives also encouraged the Italians; the Hopes of Plunder, the Bravery and Example of their General, their prosperous Success in the Beginning of the Action, and the great Number of their Army, which affured them of being always fuccoured, which was not the Cafe with the French; for they were all either engaged, or expected every Moment to be attacked. But, as every one knows, in all human Actions the Power of Fortune is very great, and in military Affairs more particularly fo, but immense, infinite, and inexpressible in Battles; where an Order not well understood, or ill executed; where Rashness, or a vain Word even from the meanest Centinel, and innumerable other Accidents, not possible to be foreseen, or prevented by a General, often unexpectedly arise, and, in a Moment, transfer the Victory to those who seemed conquered. Thus Fortune, at this Instant, confisent with her usual Custom, effected what the

Courage

A. D. Courage of Men, or the Force of Arms. 1495. hitherto had not been able to obtain: For the Stradiotti, who were fent to attack the Carriages, as related, began to feize them without any Difficulty: And some attended to carry off Mules, some Horses. fome Harness, to the other Side of the River. At the Sight of fo much Plunder. not only the Stradiotti who were appointed to attack the French in Flank, but even those who were engaged in the Battle, seeing their Comrades returning to their Quarters loaded with Spoils, incited by a Thirst of Lucre ran towards the Carriages to partake of the Prey, and their Example was followed by Numbers of both Horse and Foot, who in whole Companies, on the same Account, quitted the Battle. Wherefore the Italians, not only deprived of their intended Succour, but the Number of the Combatants being diminished-by so great a Disorder, and Antonio da Montefeltro not moving because, by the Death of Ridolfo Gonzaga, who had the fole Charge to call him in case of Need. none fent for him, were obliged to give way.

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THE French now began to gain Ground, apace, and nothing more supported the Italians, who visibly declined, than the Valour of the Marquis, who courageously fighting, still stopped the Force of the Enemy, animating his Men with his Example, and with his ardent Speeches, encouraging them rather to lose their Lives than their Honour. But it was not possible for a Handful of Men to refift fuch Numbers. which multiplied continually upon them from all Parts. So, after a great many had been killed and wounded, especially of the Marquis's own Regiment, they were obliged to fly in order to repass the River, which being fwelled not only by the Rains that had fallen in the Night, but also by a Storm with Hail and Thunder, which arose while they were in the Action, the Paffage was rendered very difficult. The French briskly pushed them to the Banks with great Violence, and with perpetual Slaughter, without making any Prisoners, and without stopping a Minute to strip or plunder. On the contrary Voices were continually heard, crying, Companions! RememA. D. Remember Guignegate! Guignegate is a Village in Picardy, near Terouenne, where in the latter Years of Lewis XI. the French Army, already victorious over Maximilian, in a Battle against the King of the Romans, was afterwards routed by breaking their Ranks, and falling to Plunder.

WHILST the Battle was fighting with fo much Bravery on this Side, the Van of the French presented itself with such Resolution against Count Gajazzo, who with Part of his Horse was come to attack them, that the Italians were greatly terrified, especially when they saw none of their People move to their Affistance, and they were broke, as one may fay, by themselves; for after some few had been killed, and amongst the rest Giovanni Piccinino, and Galeazzo da Corregio, they fled back towards their main Squadron. Marshal Gié observing that, besides the Count's Squadron, there was on the Banks, on the other Side of the River, another Colonel with his Men at Arms in Order of Battle. would not permit a Pursuit; for which he was afterwards by fome commended for his Prudence, by others, who, perhaps,

confidered less the Reason, than the Event, rather taxed with Cowardice than praifed for Circumspection. For no one doubted but that, if he had followed the Enemy, both the Count and his Colonel would have fled, and filled the rest, on that Side the River, with fuch a Terror, that it must have been almost impossible to prevent their Flight. For when the Marquis of Mantoua, after the rest had fled, with a good Party of his Men, whom he kept close and in as good Order as he was able, had repassed the River, he found those on the Banks in Confusion, every one employed in faving himfelf and his Baggage; and the great Road, that leads from Piacenza to Parma, full of Men, Horses and Carriages, moving towards Parma. This Diforder was partly remedied by the Marquis's Presence and Authority, who immeately fet about recalling and putting them in Order; but more so, by the Arrival of Count Pitigliano, who, during the univerfal Confusion on both Sides, taking an Opportunity to make his Escape, fled to the Italian Army, and raised their Spirits by VOL. I. ВЬ

Enemy was more disheartened and in greater Fear than themselves. It was generally believed that, had it not been for his Assurances, the whole Camp would with great Terror have broke up then, or, at farthest, the Night following. All the Italians retired into their Camp, excepting those who, terrified at the Consuston and Tumult (as on such Occasions will happen) or frightened at the Swelling of the River, had sled, and were dispersed in different Places, many of whom, falling in with French Parties, were cut to Pieces.

The King, with the rest of the Army, joined his Van, and consulted his Officers about passing the River immediately, and attacking the Enemy's Camp. Trivulzi was for it, as was Camillo Vitelli, who had sent his Regiment after those who were marching on the Enterprize of Genoa, and, with a few Horse, had followed the King in order to be present at the Battle. But it was more earnestly insisted on by Francesco Secço, who desired it might be observed that the high Road, which appeared

peared at a Distance, was full of Horse and A. D. Foot, who must either be the Enemy flying to Parma, or having first fled now returning to their Camp. But the Paffage of the River was dangerous, and the Army being fatigued, Part in fighting and Part by standing on their Arms, it was resolved, at the Instance of the French Officers, to encamp: So they went above a Mile from the Place where they had fought, to a Villa called Medefa, fituated on a Hill, and there formed their Camp, without any Division or Order, and with no fmall Inconveniency, for a great Number of their Carriages had been plundered by the Enemy.

Such was the Battle between the French and Italians on the River Taro, memorable for its being the first that, after a long Series of Years, had been fought in Italy with Slaughter and Bloodshed; for hitherto very few were killed in a Battle. Loss of the French was not Two Hundred Men; but that of the Italians was above Three Thousand, amongst which were Three Hundred Men at Arms, Rinuccio Farnefe,

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A. D. Farnese, a Commander of the Venetians, and many other Persons of Note. Bernardino del Montone, another Commander of the Venetians was, by the Blow of a Mace on his Helmet, left for Dead. He was an Officer more regarded for the Fame of Baccio del Montone, his Grandfather, one of the first who gave Lustre to the Italian Soldiery, than for his own Condition or Merit. So much Bloodshed seemed the more astonishing to the Italians, as the Battle did not last above an Hour, and was fought with short Arms, little Use being made of the Artillery. Each Side laboured to obtain the Glory of the Victory, and the Honour of the Day; the Italians afferting their Camp and Carriages were fafe, while the French lost many of theirs, and amongst other Things some of the King's Pavilions had been carried off. They also boafted that the French would have been cut to Pieces, had not their own People, who had been appointed to reinforce the Battle, fallen to Plunder; which indeed was not contradicted by the French. The Venetians, attributing to themselves the Glory, ordered all over their Dominions, and

and particularly at Venice, Illuminations, A. D. Fire-works, and other Marks of Joy. Nor were there wanting afterwards private Persons who imitated the public Example: For on the Tomb of Marchione Trevisano, in the Church of the Minims, after his Death, were engraved these Words: On the River Taro he fought prosperously against Charles King of France. The Victory, nevertheless, was universally adjudged to the French, on account of the great Difproportion of the Slain, of their driving the Enemy on the other Side the River, and because their Passage was no longer obstructed, which was all they contended for, the Battle being fought on no other Account.

THE Day following the King remained in the same Camp, and, thro' the Means of Argenton, some Parley was had with the Enemy, and a Truce was agreed on till Night. On one hand, Charles wanted to secure a safe Return; for he knew that many of the Italians had not engaged; and seeing them keep their Camp, he thought so long a March through the Bb3 Dutchy

A. D. Dutchy of Milan, with the Enemy in his Rear, would be dangerous: On the other, he was at a Loss how to resolve for Want of good Counsel; it being his Custom to despise the best, and often take the worst, in his Deliberations. The Italians were no less undetermined; for though they were at first greatly terrified, yet the same Night the Battle was fought some Proposals were made, and greatly encouraged by Count Pitigliano, for affaulting in the Night the Camp of the French, who were lodged without any Order or Fortification: But this Counsel, after some Debates, was rejected by many as too dangerous. It was currently reported all over Italy, at that Time, that the Troops of Lodovico Sforza had his fecret Orders not to fight: For the Venetian Army being so powerful in his Dominions, it was thought he might have had a greater Dread of their Victory than of that of the French, to whom he wished neither Victory nor Defeat, and that, to secure himself against all Events, he had a Mind to keep his Army entire; which occasioned the Loss of the Battle to the Italians. This Opinion was **fupported** 

1495.

supported by the Marquis of Mantoua, and by the Venetian Commanders, to keep up their own Reputation, and was agreeable to all those who defired to have the Italian Arms in good Estimation. But I heard a Person of great Gravity, who was in Milan at that Time, and in the Secret of Affairs, confute this Report with great Warmth. He affirmed that almost all Lodovico's Forces were at the Siege of Novara, and that those he had at the Taro were infignificant as to the gaining the Victory, which the Allied Army would have obtained if their own Diforders had not hurt them more than the Want of a greater Number of Men. For many of the Venetians did not engage, and though Count Gajazzo sent only a Part of his Troops to the Battle, and those with a feeming Unwillingness, that might proceed from his knowing that the Van of the French was too strong, and therefore it was too dangerous to trust the Whole to Fortune. Those who well knew the Count would have fooner wondered to fee him undertake a bold Action than a cautious one. Besides, Sforza's Troops were not altogether useless; for, though they did B b 4 not

A. D. not fight, they prevented the Van from reinforcing the King, which put him under a Necessity of fustaining the whole Weight of the Battle, with the smallest and weakest Part of his Forces, to the great Peril of his own Person. Nor is this Opinion, if I mistake not, founded more on Authority than on Reason; for if Lodovico was fo inclined, would he not have ordered his Generals to diffuade any Obstruction to the Passage of the French, confidering that, if they were routed, his own Troops would have equally fuffered by being fo near the Enemy, though they had not joined them in the Battle? And by what Kind of Reasoning, Consideration, or Experience of Things could he promise himself that in the Battle Fortune would be fo equal, that the King should neither defeat, nor be defeated? Nor would the Battle have been fought against the Advice of the Duke's Generals; because the Venetian Troops, fent into that State only for his Safety and Security, would not have disagreed with his Officers.

CHARLES

A. D. 1495.

CHARLES the next Morning decamped \_ with his Army before Day-break, without Sound of Trumpet, to conceal, as much as possible, his Departure. Nor did the Allied Army follow him that Day; which indeed was not in their Power had they intended it, on account of the Waters in the River, for more heavy Rains had fallen that Night, and made it impaffable the best Part of the Day. Near Sun-set only Count Gajazzo, though not without Danger, the Torrent running very strong, croffed the River with Two Hundred light Horse, and followed the Enemy, who kept the high Road to Piacenza: He harraffed them pretty much, especially the Day following: But the French, although fatigued, went on in good Order, being plentifully supplied with all Necessaries by the neighbouring Villages, partly out of Fear of being plundered, and partly by the Means of Trivulzi, who, riding before the light Horse for this Purpose, prevailed on fome with Threats, and others with his Authority, which was great in that State, and exceedingly fo with the Guelfs. The Day

Day after the Departure of the French the Allied Army followed them; but none of the Commanders, and particularly the Venetian Proveditors, cared to run any farther Rifque, and therefore kept at a Distance, without giving them the least Disturbance, which they might easily have done. For the fecond Day the French encamped on the other Side the River Trebbia, a little beyond Piacenza; but, for Conveniency of Quarters, Two Hundred Lances, the Swiss, and most of the Artillery, lay on this Side the River, between the Trebbia and the City of Piacenza. That Night the Rain swelled the Waters to fuch a Degree that, notwithstanding all Endeavours, it was not possible for either Horse or Foot to pass till late the next Day, nor then without a great deal of Difficulty, even when the Waters began to fall. Yet they were not attacked, either by the Army, which kept at a Distance, or by Count \* Gajazzo, who had

<sup>\*</sup> Giovio accuses Count Gajazzo and his Brother Fracassa of Treachery, alledging they might have greatly molested the French, instead of which they supplied them with Provisions at Tortona, where they kissed the King's Hand.

had entered Piacenza to keep the People from revolting, which he suspected, and not without some Reason. For if Charles had followed the Counfel of Trivulzi, and with displayed Colours proclaimed Francesco, the young Son of Giovanni Galeazzo, in all Probability that would have produced a Revolution in the Dutchy. So agreeable was the Name of the Person they looked upon as their legitimate Sovereign, fo odious that of the Ufurper, and of fuch Importance the Credit and Friendship of Trivulzi! But the King, intent only on getting forwards, would not give Ear to any thing of that Kind, and continued his March with all Speed, under no small Distress after the first Days for Want of Provisions, because as he proceeded he found the Towns better guarded, Lodovico Sforza having a good Number of Horse, and Twelve Hundred German Foot, detached from the Siege of Novara, Part in Tortona, under Gasparo da San Severino, furnamed Fracassa, and some in Ales-Sandria.

THE

Hand. Bembo fays only that the Count, by keeping at fo great a Distance from the Enemy, gave them an Opportunity of getting away without Loss.

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A. D. 1495.

THE French, after passing the Trebbia, were harraffed in the Rear by Count Gajazzo, who had added to his light Horse One Hundred German Foot of the Garrifon of Piacenza: For the Venetian Proveditors, admonished by the Risque they had run at the Taro, refused to send him, as he required, the Remainder of the light Horse, and Four Hundred Men at Arms. But the King, when he was near Alessandria, turned higher up towards the Mountain, where the River Tanaro is shallower, and without Lofs of Men, or any other Damage, in Eight Days March came to the Walls of Asti. Charles entered the Town, and encamped his Army in the Field, with an Intent of augmenting it, and remaining in Italy until he had relieved Novara. The Confederates, who had followed him as far as the Tortonese, finding it would be to no Purpose to follow any farther, joined Lodovico's Forces in the Neighbourhood of Novara, which was in great Want of Provisions; for the Duke of Orleans and his People had not only neglected to supply it, as they might have done

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done in Abundance, in that very plentiful A. D. Country, but not confidering the Danger till the Remedy was too late, without any Frugality, permitted his Men profusely to confume what Provisions were found in the Place.

ABOUT this Time the Cardinals and the Officers, who had been fent against Genoa, returned to the Camp, that Expedition having miscarried. For the Fleet, having on its first Arrival taken the Town of Spetie, from thence directed its Course to Rapalle, which was also easily taken. But a Squadron of eight light Gallies, and a Caraque, with two Biscayan Barks, failed from the Port of Genoa in the Night, and landed Seven Hundred Men, who, without any Difficulty, took the Suburbs of Rapalle, with the French who were in it; and then approaching the French Fleet, that was retired into the Bay, after a long Engagement, took or burnt all their Veffels; which, with the taking the Admiral Prisoner, rendered those Places more renowned for this Victory than for that of the preceding Year, when the AragoniA. D. ans were routed. Nor was this Loss of the French repaired by those who were fent by Land: For after marching along the Eastern Riviera, as far as the Valley of Bisagna, and Suburbs of Genoa, they found themselves deceived in their Expectations that the Town would rife; fo on hearing of the Loss of their Fleet, they returned in a Sort of Flight, over those craggy and rocky Mountains, to the Vale of Pozzeveri, which lies on the other Side of the City, and from thence, though much increased by the Country People, and by others fent by the Duke of Savoy, they proceeded with the same Haste towards Piedmont. This Body of Troops would, without Doubt, have been routed and put to Flight, if those in Genoa had not been afraid of fallying out, left in their Absence the Party of the Fregofi should attempt innovations. The Cavalry under Vitelli at Chiaveri, hearing the bad Success of those they were marching to join, returned in a disorderly Manner, and not without Danger, to Sarzana: And, excepting Spetie, all the Towns of that Riviera, which had been seized by the Exiles, as also in the Western

Western Riviera, the City of Ventimiglia, A. D. which had been taken by Pol Battista Fregoso and other Malecontents, returned of their own Accord under the Obedience of the Genoese.

ALL this while there were as great Agitations in the Kingdom of Naples as in Lombardy, but with more Variety of Fortune. For Ferdinando, after taking Reggio, attended to the Recovery of the neighbouring Places, having with him about Six Thousand Men, comprehending the Volunteers who came from Sicily, and the Spanish Horse and Foot under Gonsalvo Ernando, one of the Aghilar Family of Cordova, a Man of great Courage, who had learned Experience in the Wars of Granada. On his first Arrival in Italy, by the boafting Spaniards he was called the Great Captain, to denote the supreme Power he had over them; which Name afterwards, by his Acquisition of several fignal Victories, and great Skill in military Discipline was universally confirmed and perpetuated to him. This Army, which had put a great Part of the Country in Motion,

A. D. Motion, was met at Seminara, a Place near the Sea-Side, by Aubigni, with the French Men at Arms who were left to defend Calabria, and by the Horse and Foot fent him by the Lords of the Country attached to the French Interest. When they came to engage, Aubigni's regular Troops got the better of the Irregulars and Unexperienced: For not only the Italians and Sicilians in Ferdinando's Army were a Parcel of Men hastily levied, but the Spaniards also were Troops inexpert and raw. Yet for some Time they fought bravely, because the Valour and Authority of their Commanders, who omitted no Part of their Duty, kept up for some time the Spirits of their Men, who, on all other accounts, were inferior to the Enemy, Ferdinando particularly diffinguished himself; for fighting in a Manner becoming his Valour, after having his Horfe killed under him, he would doubtless have been flain or taken, if Giovanni di Capua, Brother to the Duke of Termini, who, having been his Page from his tender Years, was beloved by him in the Flower of his Age, had not dismounted from his Horse, and

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and placed him on it, and, by a very me- A. morable Example of the most distinguish-, 1495. ed Faithfulness and Love, exposed his own Life, for he was killed on the Spot. Gonsalvo fled over the Mountains to Reggio, and Ferdinando to Palma, that lies on the Sea Coast near Seminara, where he embarked on board his Fleet, and went to Messina. But, not in the least dejected by his Adversities, he resolved to try his Fortune anew; for he was not only fatisfied of the Affection of the whole City of Naples, but also of the Disposition of many of the principal Nobility and People, who privately defired him to return. Wherefore, not to give Time for his Friends thus disposed to grow cool on account of his Rout in Calabria, with great Speed he got together not only the Gallies that he had brought from Ischia, and the four his Father Alfonso went off with, but also those which came from Spain, and whatever other Vessels he could procure from the Towns and Barons in Sicily.

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A. D. 1495.

HE would not be retarded for want of Forces to put on board, but fince he could not get a sufficient Number for so great an Enterprize, he was under a Necessity to help himself more by Shows than by Realities. He failed then from Sicily with Sixty Ships of di Gaggio. the Line, and Twenty smaller, attended by Ricajensio, a Catalan, Admiral of the Spanish Fleet, a Man of great Courage, and Experience in Naval Affairs, but with fo fmall a Number of fighting Men, that in most of the Vessels there were hardly any others but fuch as were necessary to work the Ships. But tho' Ferdinando's Forces were fmall, the Favour and good Will of the People were great: For he no fooner appeared off Salerno, than that City, and all the Towns along the Coast of Malfi and Cava erected his Standard. He then failed on, and hovered two Days off Naples, expecting in vain a Commotion in that City: For the French ran immediately to Arms, and posting strong Guards in all proper Places put a Stop to the Rebellion, which was ready to break out; and they might have extricated themselves from all Dan-

ger, had they followed with Resolution the A. D. good Counsel given them by some of their 1495. Party, who, fuspecting how ill the Aragonian Fleet was provided with Soldiers, perfuaded Monpensier to fill the French Vessels that were in Port with Soldiers and Men that were fit to fight, and attack them. Ferdinando, after the third Day, despairing of any Change in the City, made off for Ischia; but the Conspirators, confidering that, on account of their Plots being in a manner discovered, the Cause of Ferdinando was become their own, privately affembled, and, refolving to make a Virtue of Necessity, secretly dispatched a small Boat to recall him, defiring that to make the Attempt easier, and to give greater Courage to those who intended to rise in his Favour, he would land all or Part of his Men. The King failed back to Naples the Day following, which happened to be the same Day the Battle was fought on the Banks of the Taro: He approached the Shore, to land his Men at the Maddelena, a Mile distant from the City. where the little River Sebeto runs into the Sea; a River which deferves rather the Cc 2 Name

A. D. Name of a Brook, and would hardly have been distinguished by any Name at all, if the Neapolitan Poets had not thought proper to give it one. Monpensier, as ready to proceed with Rashness, where Caution was necessary, as he had been with Fear, where Courage the Day before was requifite, left the City almost destitute of Troops to oppose the Enemy's Landing; wherefore the Neapolitans, rejoicing at an Opportunity which they could never have expected, immediately took up Arms, and gave Notice of their Rifing by tolling the Bell of the Carmelites near the Walls of the City; and that being answered by all the other Bells the People foon gathered from all Quarters, took Possession of the Gates, and cried out aloud Ferdinando! \* This fudden Tumult alarmed the French, who not thinking it adviseable to remain between the Rebel City and Ferdinando's Troops, and fearing they should not be able to return into the City the fame Way they came out, marched round the Walls, up a high, long, and very difficult Hill, intending

<sup>\*</sup> The Neapolitans gave Notice to the King of their Rifing by displaying a white Sheet. Giovio.

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ing to get into the Town through the A. D. Gate that was very near Castel Nuovo. Fer-1495. dinando, in the mean time, entered Naples, Ferdinan-and Horses being provided for himself and ples. fome of his Followers, he rode amidst them all over the Town, to the inexpreffible Joy of all the Neapolitans, who accompanied him with repeated Shouts. The Women were never tired in covering him from their Windows with Thyme and fweet-scented Waters, and even many of the better Sort of them ran into the Streets to embrace him, and wipe off the Sweat from his Face; but at the same time nothing was neglected that was necessary for the Defence of the Town. Marquis of Pescara, with the Soldiers who entered with Ferdinando, and the Neapolitan Youth, employed themselves in barricading and fortifying the Ends of the Streets, where they apprehended the French from Castel Nuovo might attack the Town. As foon as Monpensier had got together his Men in the Piazza before the Castle, he made all his Efforts to advance into the inhabited Quarters of the Town; but was fo molested by the Cross-bows

C c 3 and

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A. D. and small Artillery, and found all the Streets fo well fecured, that Night approaching he ordered his Troops to retire into the Castle, leaving, between useful and unuseful, at least Two Thousand Horses in the Square, as there was neither Room nor Provisions for them in the Castle. Yves d'Alegre, reckoned a brave Officer, Antonello Prince of Salerno, and many

Monpen-Ger Thuts in the Caftle.

himself up other Persons of Distinction, both French and Italians, shut themselves up with Monpensier; and tho' for several Days they made frequent Skirmishes in the Square and about the Port, and fired on the City with the Artillery, yet being always repulsed, they gave over all Hopes of recovering the Town with their present Force.

> THE Example of Naples was immediately followed by Capua, Aversa, the Castle of Mondragone, and many neighbouring Towns; and the greatest Part of the Kingdom seemed ripe for a Change: But the People of Gaeta, at the Sight of fome of Ferdinando's Vessels that made towards the Shore, having taken up Arms with

> > V = 38

with more Resolution than Strength, were A. D. defeated with great Slaughter by the French 1495. Garrison, and in the Heat of the Victory the whole Town was pillaged. At the fame time the Venetian Fleet approached Monopoli, a City of Puglia, and after landing the Stradiotti, and a good Body of Foot, attacked it by Land. Piero Bembo, Commander of one of the Venetian Gallies, was killed by a Cannon Ball; nevertheless the Town at last was taken by Storm, which fo discouraged the French Governor that he foon furrendered the Castle; and Pugliano also was given up by Composition.

FFRDINANDO, in the mean time, was bent on getting Possession of Castel Nuovo. and Castel dell' Uovo, and hoped to reduce them foon by Famine; for Provisions were scarce, considering the Number of Soldiers that were therein; and, to render them still scarcer, he was constantly employed in making himself Master of the adjacent Posts. The French, to secure their Fleet, which was in great Danger in the Port, brought it between the Tower of San Vin-

Cc 4

centio,

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A. D. centio, Castel dell' Uovo, and Pizzifalcone, which Places were in their Hands: This Fleet confisted of Five Ships, Four light Gallies, a fmall Galliot, and a Galleon. They kept Possession of the Part behind Castel Nuovo, where the royal Gardens were fituated, and extended themselves to Capella, and fortifying the Monastery of the Croce, they made Excursions as far as Piedigrotta and San Martino. Ferdinando having taken and fortified that Spot of Ground made Use of for Horse-Races, and made a covered Way along the Incoronata, took Possession of Mount Sant' Ermo and the Hill of Pizzifalcone, in order to block up the Citadel, which was built on the Top of the Hill, and held out for the French, because by taking it he might from that high Place annoy the Enemy's Fleet. The Troops of Ferdinando attacked those in the Monastery of the Croce; but receiving great Damage in their Approaches from the Artillery, and despairing to take that Place by Force, they endeavoured to get it by a Plot, which afterwards proved fatal to the Contriver: For a Moor in the Garrison - 1

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rison having deceitfully promised the Mar-A. D. quis of Pescara, who had been lately his Master, to let him into the Place, and for that End having enticed him one Night to Death of come and parley on the Top of a Ladder the Marquis of planted against the Walls of the Mo-Pescara. nastery, in order to settle the Time and Manner of entering the Place the same Night, he was by a double Treachery of the Black shot thro' the Throat by an Arrow from a Cross-Bow, and killed on the Spot.

The Defertion first of Prospero, and then of Fabritio Colonna, was of no small Importance to Ferdinando's Affairs. Tho' and Fathe Time they had inlisted themselves to britio rethe King of France was not expired, yet Ferdinanimmediately after the Recovery of Naples do. they entered iuto Ferdinando's Service, alledging for their Excuse, that their Salary had not been duly paid, and that Virginio Orsini and Count Pitigliano were highly caressed by the King, with too little Regard to their own Merit; a Reason not sufficient to counterballance the Greatness

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A. D. of the Favours they had received from him. But who knows whether that which ought in Reason to have been a Bridle to refrain them, was not a Spur to act the contrary; because the greater the Rewards of which they were in Possession, so much the more powerful, perhaps, was their Desire to preserve them, since they saw the Affairs of the French now on the Decline?

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THE Castle being thus blockaded, and the Sea at present secured, the Want of Provisions daily increased, and the only Hopes the Besieged had left were the Expectation of Succours by Sea from France. For as foon as Charles was arrived at Afti, Peron de la Basque was dispatched to Villafranca, a Port contiguous to Nizza, with Orders for a Fleet to be fent out immediately with Two Thousand between Gascons and Swifs, and to carry with them Provisions. Monf. d'Arban was both General and Admiral; a good Land-Officer, but little versed in Sea Affairs! He sailed to the Isle of Porezzo, where he discovered Ferdinando's Fleet, which confifted of Thirty

Sail

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Sail of Ships, and two large Genoese Ves-A. D. sels; at the Sight of which he tacked about and went off, and was pursued to the Isle of Elba, but, with the Loss only of a Biscayan Vessel, he got into Livorno, so terrified, that his Authority was not sufficient to prevent the greater Part of his Men from landing, and going to Pisa.

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AFTER this Retreat Monpensier and the rest, finding they could not subfist for Want of Provisions, and having sustained a Three Months Siege, agreed to return into Provence, if they were not succoured within Thirty Days, on Condition that the Effects and Persons of all those who were in the Castle should be secure, and Yves d'Alegre and Three more were delivered as Hostages for the Performance of this Convention. So short a Time could not admit of any Succour, but from the French in that Kingdom: Therefore Monf. de Persi, with the Swiss that he commanded, and Part of the French Lances, accompanied by the Prince of Bisignano, and many other Barons, moved towards Naples. Ferdinando, aware of this,

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A. D. this, fent Count Matalona to Eboli, with 1495. an Army, the greater Part of which was got together in hafte, and confifted chiefly of his Friends and Adherents, which, tho' much superior in Number, at the Sight of the French at the Lake of Pizzolo near Eboli, turned their Backs and fled, without offering to fight; yet as they were not much purfued, they got with little Lofs, first to Nola, and then to Naples. Venantio, the Son of Giulio Verano, Lord of Camerino, was taken Prisoner on this Occasion. The Conquerors marched on to relieve the Castle, and had got so much Credit by this last Victory, that Ferdinando was inclined once more to abandon Naples: But refuming Courage at the Intreaties of the Neapolitans, who, as much out of Fear on account of their Rebellion, as of Affection to his Person, pressed and prevailed on him to stay, he posted himself at Capella, and, to prevent the Enemy's Approach to the Castle, perfected a large Trench, already begun, from the Mountain Sant' Ermo to Castel dell' Uovo, and lined with Artillery and Soldiers all the Hills, as far as Capella, and beyond it. Wherefore

#### THE WARS IN ITALY.

Wherefore the French, though, by the Way A. D. of Salerno, they were come to Nocera thro' Cava, and by the Mountain of Piedigrotta had got into Chiaia near Naples, yet found all Places fo well defended, and Ferdinando so resolute, and were so annoyed by the Artillery from Mount Pizzifalcone (so famous for the Delicacies and profuse Expences of Lucullus) which commands Castel dell' Uovo, that they durst not advance, or come near Capella; nor was it possible for them to remain in the Post they were in; for Nature, that has bountifully bestowed on that Coast all other Delights, had not provided it with fresh Water. This obliged them to retire fooner than they intended, and to march towards Nola, leaving at their Decampment two or three Pieces of Artillery, and Part of the Provisions they had brought to fupply the Castle. Ferdinando, leaving the Castle besieged, encamped his Army in the Plain of Palma near Sarni\*.

MONPENSIER,

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<sup>\*</sup> At this Place there was a Battle fought between Marcellus and Hannibal.

Monpensier, by the Departure of Perfi, defoairing of any Relief, after leaving Three

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Hundred Men in Castel Nuovo, which was a fufficient Number both for the Provisions and for the Defence, and a Garrison in Castel dell' Uovo, embarked in the Night, with Five and Twenty Hundred Men, on his Fleet, and went to Salerno. Ferdinando complained greatly of this Proceeding, alledging that Montensier ought not to have gone off with his Men from Castel Nuovo, before the Time of furrendering was expired, without giving up both the Castles; and he was disposed, as the Rigour of the Laws of War permitted him, to revenge this Injury and Breach of Faith with the Blood of the Hostages, when he found that the Garrisons refused to surrender at the Caffel Nuo Time stipulated. But after they had stood out above a Month beyond the Term, and were almost famished, those of Castel Nuovo furrendered on Condition the Hostages should be released. And a few Days after the Garrison of Castel dell' Uovo, for the same Reason, agreed to surrender the

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wo furrenders.

# THE WARS IN ITALY. 378

first Day of Lent, in case they were not A. D. relieved before that Time.

ABOUT this Time died at Messina Al-Death of King Alfonso of Aragon, whose Glory and Fortune, fonso, which had rendered his Name fo illustrious in all Parts when Duke of Calabria, were converted into the highest Infamy and Misery after he ascended the Throne of Naples. It is reported that, a little before his Death, he begged of his Son to permit him to return to Naples, where the Hatred, formerly conceived against him, was almost changed into Benevolence; but that Ferdinando, fwayed more, as is customary with Mankind, by the Ambition of Reigning, than by Paternal Reverence, should return this Answer, no less pungent than witty, That the best Course for him would be to stay where he was till he had fo fettled the Kingdom that he might never more be obliged to abandon it. Ferdinando also, to strengthen his Interest by a closer Alliance with the King of Spain, obtained the Pope's Dispensation to marry his Aunt Giovanna, the Daughter of Ferdinando his Grand-Father.

#### THE HISTORY OF

A. D. Father, and of Giovanna, Sister to the said King.

Siege of

WHILST the Sieges were carried on against the Castles of Naples, with Variety of Accidents in the Manner related, those in Novara were very much straitened; for the Duke of Milan had a powerful Army before it, and the Venetians were for earnest in affisting him, that it was thought they had feldom been less sparing of their Money than on this Occasion \*. Hence, in a short Time, were assembled in the Camp of the Allies Three Thousand Men at Arms, Three Thousand light Horse, a Thousand German Horse, and Five Thousand Italian Foot: But the principal Strength of this Army confifted in Ten Thousand Lance-Knights, the Name by which the German Foot were commonly known. These were mostly in the Pay of the Duke of Milan, and were intended to oppose the Swis: For the Italian Foot dreaded their very Name, being mightily funk

<sup>\*</sup> The Venetians expended One Hundred Thousand Golden Ducats a Month to support this War. Aieffandre Benedetti.

funk in Courage and Reputation fince the A. D. Coming of the French. The Germans had many brave Commanders; the chief amongst them was George Petraplan, a Native of Austria, who some Years before had ferved under Maximilian King of the Romans, and established his Reputation at the Siege of St. Omer, a Town of Picardy, which he took from the French. Nor had the Venetian Senate only taken Care to fend a great Number of Troops to this Siege, but farther, to put greater Spirits in their Soldiery, had promoted the Marquis of Mantoua from Governor to be Captain General of the Army, in Honour to the Valour which he had shewn in the Battle of the Taro; and, as an Example of great Gratitude for ever to be recorded, they not only increased the Pay of those who behaved gallantly in that Action, but gave Pensions or other Provisions to the Sons of many of the Slain, and Portions to their Daughters.

WITH this powerful Army the Siege was carried on; for the Confederates, who were determined mostly by what Lodovico Vol. I. D d pro-

A. D. proposed, had resolved, by his Advice, not to run the Risque of a Battle, unless they were forced; but to fortify themselves in proper Places about Novara, and prevent its being supplied with Provisions, hoping that as there was a Scarcity in the Town, and great Quantities were wanting, that it could not hold out many Days: For, befides the Inhabitants and Peafants who had reforted thither, the Duke of Orleans, between French and Swifs, had above Seven Thousand chosen Men in it. Therefore Galeazzo da San Severino, giving over all Thoughts of taking by Force a Town defended by fuch Numbers, encamped with the Duke's Forces at Mugne, a Place very convenient to hinder Provisions coming from Vercelli. And the Marquis of Mantoua, with the Venetians, immediately on his Arrival, took feveral Towns Sword in Hand; and a few Days after the Castle of Brione, which was of some Importance, and put Troops into Camariano and Bolgari, that lay between Novara and Vercelli; and, the better to prevent the Entrance of Provisions, distributed the Army in proper

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proper Posts about Novara, and fortified all their Quarters.

On the other Hand, the King of France, to be nearer Novara, had removed from Alli to Turin, from whence he made frequent Visits to a Lady at Cheri, with whom he was fallen in Love; yet Gallantry did not take off his Attentions from providing what was necessary for the War, but he was continually preffing the March of his Troops from France, and with no less Eagerness solliciting and waiting the Arrival of the Ten Thousand Swiss, whom the Bailiff of Dijon was gone to inlift, being fully determined, as foon as they had joined the Army, to make all possible Efforts to relieve Novara; but without them he would not venture to attempt any Thing of Consequence. For the French Nation, though very potent in Cavalry, and noted for its great Quantity of Artillery, and Skill in managing it, yet was very weak in Infantry; because the Use of Arms and military Exercises having been encouraged only amongst the Nobility, the vulgar Sort, and the People in general,

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thro'

A. D. thro' a long Disuse of Arms, had no longer the antient warlike Spirit of that Nation, but addicted themselves to Trades, and to the Profits arising from them in Times of Peace. To encourage this Disposition, feveral of the last Kings had thought fit to difarm the People, and endeavoured to wean their Inclinations from military Exercises, induced to it by various Instances of popular Conspiracies and Rebellions in that Kingdom. The French, on this Account, could not trust to the Valour of their own Infantry, but went timoroufly to War, if they were not provided with a fufficient Body of Swis; which Nation, ever unconquered and fierce, had greatly increased its Reputation for these Twenty Years last past: For being attacked by Charles Duke of Burgundy, who for his Courage and Power was a very great Terror to France and to all his Neighbours, in a few Months they gave him three Defeats, in the last of which he was found dead amongst the Slain; but whether killed in the Battle or Flight, or how he came by his Death, was never particularly known. It was therefore on account

count of their Courage, and because the A. D. French had no Sort of Emulation or Difference with them, or any Reason, for their own Interests, to be jealous of them, as they were of the Germans, that they inlisted no other foreign Foot but Swifs, and made use of them in all important Wars. And well knowing how difficult and dangerous it was to fuccour Novara, furrounded by so vast an Army, and fight against such a Body of German Foot, who had the same Discipline as the Swis, they never expected their Arrival with more Anxiety than at this Juncture.

THE City of Vercelli is fituated halfway between Turin and Novara: It was formerly a Member of the Dutchy of Milan, but yielded by Filippomaria Visconti, during the long War in which he was engaged with the Venetians and Florentines, to Amadeo Duke of Savoy, to induce him to break his Alliance with them. Neither Side as yet had fent Soldiers into this Town; for the Dutchess, Mother and Guardian to the young Duke of Savoy, was quite French by Inclination, but would not Dd 3 declare

A. D. declare openly for the King till he was more powerful, in the mean time amufing the Duke of Milan with smooth Speeches, and flattering Hopes. But when the King, who had now a numerous Army, removed to Turin, a City of the same Dutchy, she consented to the Entrance of French Troops into Vercelli, which, on account of its Situation, increased greatly his Hopes of relieving Novara when all his Troops were arrived. The Confederates indeed began to be doubtful of Success, and, therefore, in order to lay the better Foundation for Proceeding maturely amidst these Difficulties, Lodovico Sforza went in Perfon to the Army, accompanied by Beatrice his Wife, and constant Companion, as well in Affairs of Moment as in Diversions. At his Presence, and, as reported, princicipally by his Advice, after many Debates, it was unanimously concluded by the Generals that, for the greater Security of the whole Army, the Venetians should join the Sforzescan Troops at Mugne, after leaving fufficient Garrisons in all the Places about Novara which might favour the Siege: That Bolgari should be abandoned,

for being only Three Miles distant from A. D. Vercelli, if the French should attack it with a great Force, they should be obliged either shamefully to lose it, or, contrary to what had been fettled, put the whole Army in Motion to relieve it: That in Camariano, which lay Three Miles from the Quarters at Mugne, the Garrison should be augmented, and the whole Camp fortified with Ditches, Ramparts, and a great Quantity of Artillery; and that other Resolutions should be taken every Day, in which they were to be directed according to the Motions of the Enemy; and, lastly, not to omit cutting down the Trees, and destroying every thing, up to the Walls of Novara, that might be of any Use to the Besieged, or their Horses, of which there were a vast Number in the Town. These Things being settled, and a general Review made of the Army, Lodovico returned to Milan, to be at hand to make the necessary Provisions that from Time to Time would be required. And that the spiritual Authority and Arms might be affistant to the temporal Forces, the Venetians and Sforza prevailed on the Dd 4 Pope

A. D. Pope to fend one of his Mace-Bearers to Charles, commanding him in Ten Days to quit Italy with all his Army, and appointing him another short Time to withdraw his Troops from the Kingdom of Naples; and, in case of Disobedience, citing him to appear in Person at Rome, under the Penalty of spiritual Punishments, accompanied by the Threats usually denounced by the Church on fuch Occasions. This was a Step formerly taken by antient Popes in dangerous Junctures. Thus we read that with no other Weapons Adrian, the first of that Name, obliged Desiderio, King of the Lombards, who was marching with a powerful Army to create Disturbances in Rome, to return to Pavia, after he had advanced as far as Terni. But in our Days that Reverence and Majesty, which the Sanctity of the Lives of those Popes had secured them, being wanting, it was not at all likely that different Manners and Examples should produce the same Effects. Charles, therefore, treated this Order with Scorn, and made answer, That fince his Holiness, at his Return from Naples, did not think proper to wait for him at Rome, whither he he was going, in a devout Manner, to kiss A. D. his Feet, he wondered very much he hould be fo desirous of seeing him now: However, in Obedience io his Commands, he should apply himself seriously to sorce his Way to him; and, that he might not take so much Trouble in vain, he begged he would not be out of the Way.

CHARLES, about this Time, concluded a new Treaty at Turin with the Florentine Ambassadors, but not without a strong Opposition from the same Ministers who formerly had shewn themselves no Friends to that Republic, and who unluckily had now a greater Occasion to contradict them. For after the Florentines had recovered the Castles which lay on the Hills near Pifa taken from them in Charles's Return, and obtained Pontefacco, to which they had laid Siege, on Condition that the Soldiers should retire in Safety, contrary to this Capitulation, they had put to the Sword almost all the Gascons, as they marched out intermixed with the Pifans, and afterwards exercised many Instances of Inhumanity against the dead Bodies. This Barbarity A. D. Barbarity was committed against the Will of the Florentine Commissaries. who with great Difficulty faved Part of the Men. But some Florentine Soldiers, when Prisoners in the French Army, had been very ill used, and took this Opportunity to gratify their Revenge. The Enemies of the Republic in the King's Court made a Handle of this Action to prove the innate Enmity of the Florentines to the French. This Affair retarded some Time, but, however, did not hinder the Conclusion of the Treaty; which at last was finished, but not out of any Regard to former Promifes or Oaths, but from an urgent Necessity of Money, and of fuccouring the Kingdom of Naples. The Articles were, That, without any Delay, all the Towns and Forts of the Florentines which were in the King's Hands should be restored; they obliging themselves, within Two Years, on a valuable Confideration, to deliver up, if the King should require it, Pietra Santa and Sarzana to the Genoese, provided the City of Genoa should return under his Majesty's Command: That on this Confideration their Ambaffadors should pay down

down the Thirty Thousand Ducats agreed A. D. upon in the Capitulation of Florence, but the Republic should have Jewels in Pledge for the Restitution of this Money, if their Castles, under any Pretext whatsoever, were not restored: That when they were given up they should lend the King Seventy Thousand Ducats; for the Payment of which the GENERALS of the Kingdom of France should be bound: This is the Title given to Four of the King's Ministers who collect the Revenue of the whole Kingdom: That they should fend this Money into the Kingdom of Naples, and, in the King's Name, distribute it amongst the royal Forces, not excepting the Colonnas, if they had not made their Peace with Ferdinando; for though there was a strong Report of Prospero's Desertion, yet no authentic Account was arrived: That, provided they were not engaged in a War in Tuscany, they should send Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms into the Kingdom of Naples; and, if they had no other War but what concerned Montepulciano, they should fend thither Vitelli with the Troops he had under his Command in the Pisan,

A. D Pisan, who should not be obliged to stay 1495 any longer than the End of October: That the Pifans should have a general Indemnity, and the Florentines should immediately fet about restoring their Effects. and give some Encouragement for their Improvement in Arts and Sciences: That, for a Security of the Performance of these Articles, they should deliver Six Hostages, of the principal Citizens of Florence at the King's Choice, who should remain for a certaln Time at his Court. As foon as the Treaty was figned, the Thirty Thoufand Ducats paid down, and the Jewels delivered in Pledge, Letters and Orders were dispatched to the King's Governors to restore the Forts, and the Thirty Thoufand Ducats were immediately fent into Swifferland for the new Levies.

ALL this while the Hardships and Difficulties in Novara daily increased, but great was the Resolution of the Soldiers, and much greater the Obstinacy of the Novarese, from a Consciousness of their Rebellion, in defending themselves; for Provisions were become so scarce, that they

were

were almost famished; and though Orleans A. D. had fent out of the Town the useless Mouths, that was not a fufficient Remedy. The French and the Swiss, who were not accustomed to such Inconveniencies, began daily to ficken; the Duke himself laboured under a Quartan Ague, and with reiterated Messengers and Letters pressed the King not to prolong the Succours; but as he had not as yet got together a fufficient Force, he could not fo eafily, and as foon as was necessary, give them Relief. The French, however, attempted feveral Times in the Night to throw in Provisions, and escorted them with large Parties both of Horfe and Foot; but they were always discovered, and obliged to retire, and fometimes with no small Loss: And the Marquis of Mantoua, to prevent all Entrance of Provisions, attacked the Monastery of San Francesco, which lies near the Walls of Novara, and having taken it, he put in it a Guard of Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thousand German Foot. The taking this Post greatly eased the Army of its Fatigues, for it kept open the Road through which all their own

own Provisions passed, and stopped the Way from the Gate which leads to Mount Biandrana, the easiest Passage into Novara. The next Day he took the Bastion which had been erected by the French in the Suburb of San Nazzaro, and the Night following got Possession of the whole Subburb, and the other Bastion contiguous to the Gate, in which he put a Guard, and then fortisted the Suburb, where Count Pitigliano, who had been hired with the Title of Governor by the Venetians, was wounded near his Girdle by a Musket-Shot, which had very like to have proved mortal.

By this Progress of the Enemy, the Duke of Orleans finding he could no longer defend the other Suburbs which, on his first retiring to Novara, he had fortified, ordered them to be set on Fire the Night following, and drew off all his Men, attending wholly to the Desence of the City, keeping up his Spirits in this Extremity of Hunger with the Hopes of a speedy Relief; for the Swiss were daily arriving, and the French Army, after passing the River

River Stefia, and putting a Garrison in Bolgari, encamped within a Mile of Vercelli, in order to wait there for the Swifs; and it was believed that, on their Arrival, Novara would be fuccoured. But this must have proved a difficult Task; for the Italians were deeply entrenched in a strong Situation, the Road from Vercelli to Novara was full of Water, the Ditches deep and wide all over the Country, and Camariano, which was fortified by the Allies, lay between their Camp and Bolgari poffessed by the French. By reason of these Difficulties, neither the King nor his Troops seemed eager to move; but yet if the whole Complement of the Swifs had arrived fooner, he would certainly have risked a Battle, the Event of which must have been very dubious on both Sides. Wherefore each being fensible of their Danger, there were not wanting fecret Overtures of Peace between the King and the Duke of Milan, tho' with little Hopes of Success, on account of the Jealousies they entertained of one another; and because each, the more to keep up his Reputation, would feem indifferent. But Chance

A. D. Chance opened a more expeditious Way to bring Affairs of fo much Importance to a Conclusion.

THE Marchioness of Monferrato died at this Time, and a Dispute arising about the Guardianship of her young Son between the Marquis of Saluzzo and the Marchioness's Brother Constantino, who was one of the ancient Lords of Macedonia, which had been feized many Years before by Mahomet the Ottoman, the King, defirous to prevent Commotions in that State, in order to fettle the Regency according to the Inclination of the People, had fent Argenton to Caful Cervagio; and the Marquis of Mantoua at the same time had sent one of his Domestics to condole for the Death of the Marchioness. These two. in converfing, fell on a Discourse concerning the Benefit that would accrue to both Parties, if a Peace could be procured. The Conversation became so serious that Argenton was prevailed on to write to the Venetian Proveditors, reminding them of what he began to negotiate with them before at the Taro. They listened to him, and

and communicating their Sentiments to the A. D. Duke of Milan's Generals, at last it was 1495. agreed to apply to the King, who was come to Vercelli, and defire he would depute some of his Ministers to meet theirs, in order for a Conference in some convenient Place. The King confented, and the next Day the Deputies affembled at a Place between Bolgari and Camariano. The Venetians chose the Marquis of Mantoua and Bernardo Contarini the Proveditor of their Stradiotti: the Duke of Milan, Francesco Bernardino Visconti, and the King of France fent the Cardinal of St. Malo, the Prince of Orange (who had lately passed the Mountains, and by the King's Commission had the principal Charge of the Army) the Marshal de Gié, Pienes and Argenton. The Deputies met feveral times, and Day after Day some of them passed and repassed between their respective Armies with the Result of their Conferences. The most material Point in which they disagreed was concerning the City of Novara: The King made no Difficulty of restoring it, but defired it might be done with the least Offence to Ee VOL. I.

A. D. his Honour. He infifted it should be put into the Hands of one of the German Officers in the Italian Camp, who should receive it in the Name of the King of the Romans, as Liege Lord of the Dutchy of Milan: But the Allies infifted that it should be given up without any Condition. This Difficulty, and some others, could not be removed with the Expedition wished by the Besieged, who were reduced to the last Extremity; it being computed that, through Famine and the Sickness occasioned by it, about Two Thousand of Orleans's Men had perished. At last a Truce was made for Eight Days, and Leave given for the Duke of Orleans and the Marquis of Saluzzo to repair with a small Attendance to Vercelli, bur on their Parole to return to Novara with the same Retinue, if the Peace was not concluded. As the Duke was to pass through the Enemy's Camp, the Marquis of Mantoua, for his Security, went to a Fort near Bolgari, in the Power of the Count de Foix. The Soldiers in Novara would not have permitted the Duke to leave the Town, if he had not affured them, on his Word, that he would return

# THE WARS IN ITALY.

return in Three Days, or that through his A. Means they should be allowed to come out; 1495. nor would they permit the Marshal de Gié, who was come to Novara to conduct the Duke out of the City, to take away his Nephew, but kept him in Pledge. had by this Time confumed not only the Provisions that generally serve for the Prefervation of human Life, but also the Flesh of unclean Animals, and other nauseous Foods, from which Men in that Extremity know not how to abstain.

As foon as the Duke of Orleans came to the King, the Truce was prolonged for a few Days, on Condition that all the French should quit Novara, and leave it in the Poffession of the Townsmen, who were to take an Oath not to deliver it to either Party without their mutual Confent: That in the Castle there should remain a Company of Thirty French Foot, who should be daily supplied with Provisions from the Italian Camp. The French accordingly marched out, and were efcorted by the Marquis of Mantoua, and Galeazzo da San Severino till they arrived where they were Ee 2 fafe, Camp.

fafe, but were fo feeble and emaciated by Hunger, that many died a little after they were arrived at Vercelli, and those that furvived were rendered useless during this War.

AT this Time the Bailiff of Dijon arfived with the Remainder of the Swifs; and though he had demanded no more than Ten Thousand, yet he could not help bringing Twenty; for the News Arrival of being spread of the Arrival of French Mo-Swift in ney, the People, that flocked from all the French Parts, made up that Number, and would be inlifted. One Half of these joined the Camp at Vercelli, and the other was quartered at Ten Miles Distance; for it was not thought quite fafe that fo many of that Nation should be together in the fame Army: Had they arrived fome Days fooner, it is probable the Treaty might have been interrupted: For, besides these, the King's Army confifted of Eight Thoufand French Foot, Two Thousand Swifs of those who had served at Naples, and a Body of Eighteen Hundred Lances. But as Things had gone fo far, and Novara

was evacuated, the Treaty went on, tho' A. D. the Duke of Orleans, with many others, 1495. was strongly against it. Every Day the French Deputies, who were in the Italian Camp, attended the Duke of Milan, who was come in Person to be nearer at hand to treat of Matters of fuch Importance, tho' always in the Presence of the Ambassadors of the Allies. At last the Deputies returned to the King with the ultimate Conditions on which Peace might be made, which were as follows: That there should be a perpetual Peace and Friendship between the King and the Duke of Milan, but without any Prejudice to the Duke's other Alliances: That his Majesty should give his Consent that the Citizens of Novara should deliver up to him the Town, and his Men should evacuate the Castle: That Spetie and all other Places taken in this War by either Side should be restored: That the King might equip at Genoa, his Fief, what Wesfels he pleafed, and have the Benefit of all military Conveniencies of that City, provided they were not employed in Fawour of the Enemies of that State; and Ee 3 for

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A. D. for the Security of this Article, the Genoefe should give certain Hostages: The Duke of Milan should procure him the Restitution of the Vessels taken at Rapalle, and the Twelve Gallies detained at Genoa, and at his own Expence fit him out at prefent two large Genoa Ships (which with four of his own, already equipped, he defigned to fend to the Succour of the Kingdom of Naples) and the Year following be obliged to have in Readiness Three more in the fame Order: That he should give a free Pass to what Troops the King should send through his Dutchy in their Way to Naples, on Condition that no more than Two Hundred Lances at a Time should pass; and in case the King returned himself, the Duke should accompany him with a certain Number of Men: That the Venetians for two Months might have the Liberty of acceding to this Peace, and if they did should withdraw their Fleet from the Kingdom of Naples, and give no farther Asfistance to Ferdinando: If afterwards they violated their Engagements, and the King on that Account declared War, the Duke should affist him, and might keep Posfeffion

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fession of whatever Part of the Venetian A. D. Territory he could make himself Master : \_ That Lodovico, within the Month of March ensuing, should pay Fifty Thousand Ducats to the Duke of Orleans, for the Expences he had incurred during the Siege of Novara, remit Eighty Thousand Ducats of the Money he lent the King, when he first passed through his Domi--nions, and allow a further Term for the Payment of the Remainder: That Trivulzi's Estate should be restored to him, and his Outlawry roversed: The Bastard of Bourbon taken at the Taro, and Meaux at Rapalle, and all other Prisoners should be fet at Liberty: The Duke should order Fracassa to depart from Pisa, with all the Troops he had lately sent thither, as also those of the Genoese, and should give no Obstruction to the Florentines in the Recovery of their Forts: That within a Month the Castelletto of Genoa should for Two Years, the Garrison being maintained at the common Expence, be put into the Hands of the Duke of Ferrara, who was come to the Italian Camp at the Defire of both Parties; but he should take

Ee 4

A. D. an Oath to deliver it any Time within that

1495. Term to the King of France, in case the
Duke of Milan did not perform the Articles of this Treaty: Lodovico, on the
figning of the Peace, should give Hostages
to remain with the King, till the Castelletto
was delivered to the Duke of Ferrara.

THESE Articles being referred to the King by his Ministers concerned in the Treaty, his Majesty laid them before his Council, where, amidst a Variety of Sentiments, M. de la Tremouille spoke to the following Purport:

Speech of Tremouille in Counciled only the making new Additions to the Glory of the Crown of France by warlike Exploits, I should perhaps be less forward, O magnanimous King, to advise that your Royal Person should be exposed to new Dangers, tho' your own Example ought to have counselled you to the contrary. For, with no other Motive than the Thirst after Glory, you resolved, contrary to the Advice and to the Intreaties of almost your whole Kingdom, to pass the last Year

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Year into Italy, in order to make a Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, the Success of which Enterprize being crowned with great Honour and Renown, it is most manifest that the Question at present is not whether you ought to refuse the Opportunity of acquiring new Honour and Glory, but whether you ought to despife, and give over for loft what you have with fo much Cost, and so great Danger acquired, and convert all this Honour into the greatest Ignominy and Disgrace, and will yourfelf contradict and condemn your own Refolutions. For you might, without any Reflection, have remained unactive in France, nor could that which now will be imputed by all the World to Timidity and Cowardice, be then ascribed to any other Motive than Negligence, and to an Age addicted to Pleasures. Your Majesty might, foon after your Arrival at Asti, with less Shame have returned back to France, and shown that you were not concerned for the Preservation of Novara: But now, fince you have stopped here with your Army, and publicly declared that it was with an Intention to raise the Siege of No-

vara,

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vara, and for that End have caused so many of the Nubility to come from France, and, at an intolerable Expence, hired fo great a Number of Swis, who can doubt but that your own Glory and that of your Kingdom will be converted into eternal Difgrace if the Siege be not raifed? But we have still a more powerful Motive, if in the Breafts of magnanimous Kings there can possibly reside any greater and more ardent Incentive than a Thirst after Fame and Glory, or at least we have more neceffary Reasons. For our Return into France, and confenting to lose Novara by Capitulation, is the same in Effect as losing the whole Kingdom of Naples, and abandoning to Destruction fo many brave Officers and French Nobles, who remain for Defence of that Country, in Hopes, confirmed by your royal Word, of speedy Succours, and will be thrown into Despair of ever being relieved, as foon as they shall understand that you lie on the Frontiers of Italy with so great an Army, and so formidable a Force, under Awe of the Enemy. Success in War depends in a great meafure, as every one knows, on Reputation,

and

and when this declines the Valour of the Soldiers declines with it, the public Credit is diminished, and the Revenues allotted to support the War are annihilated. On the contrary Side the Courage of the Enemy increases, their Doubts are removed, while on the other Hand all the Difficulties are infinitely augmented. When therefore our Army, by fuch melancholy News, abates of its Vigour, and the Enemy increases in Forces and Reputation, who can doubt but that we shall soon hear of a Rebellion of the whole Kingdom of Naples, and foon after, that our Army is defeated, and that an Enterprise, begun and conducted with fo much Glory, will in the End yield us no other Fruit than Loss and inestimable Disgrace? For whoever perfundes himfelf that this Peace is made with a fincere Intention, shews that he little confiders the present Posture of Affairs, and that he knows but little of the Nature of those with whom it is negotiated, it being easy to conclude that, as soon as we have turned our Backs to Italy, not one Thing contained in these Articles will be observed, but that, instead of our receiving the **stipulated** 

stipulated Succours, Affistance will be sent to Ferdinando, and those very Troops which will boast of having made us shamefully fly out of Italy, will march for Naples to enrich themselves with our Spoils. Such a Difgrace would be more tolerable, if there were any probable Reason for doubting of the Victory. But how is it possible for any one to entertain a Doubt of this Nature, who confiders the Greatness of our Army, with the Advantages of the Country around us, and remembers that, when we were tired with the Length of the March, straitened for want of Provisions, very few in Number, and in the Midst of an Enemy's Country, we yet fought with fuch Fierceness and Resolution against a very numerous Army on the Taro, which River ran that Day with great Violence, more fwelled with the Blood of our Enemies than with its own Waters, that we opened ourfelves a Passage with the Sword, and, for eight Days together, rode on victorious through the Dutchy of Milan, which was all against us. We have at present double the Number of Horse, and a much greater Number of French Foot than we had

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had at that Time, and instead of Three A. D. Thousand we have Twenty-Two Thoufand Swis; whereas our Enemies, tho' reinforced with fome German Foot, may be faid to be but little increased in Comparison of us. For their Cavalry is much the fame, they have the fame Commanders, and having been once beaten by us with fo great Loss, they will return to fight under a Terror. Besides, are the Rewards of the Victory perhaps so small that they ought to be despised by us, and not rather fo confiderable that they deferve our striving to obtain them tho' with fome Danger? For we fight not only for the Preservation of the great Glory we have acquired, for the Preservation of the Kingdom of Naples, for the Safety of fo many of our Officers and Nobles, but for the Empire of all Italy, which will be at Stake in the Field, where if we come off Conquerors, it offers itself as the Price of our Victory. For what other Troops, what other Armies have the Enemies left? They have their whole Force, and all the Generals that they could get together contained within their Camp. One Ditch that we may pass, one Rampart

that

that we may force, will put us in Poffession of so vast an Acquisition as the Dominion and Riches of all Italy, together with the Means of revenging ourselves for our manifold Injuries; which are two Incentives that used to fire the Spirit even of the Lazy and Pufillanimous. And if they should not be able to move our warlike and fierce Nation, we shall certainly have Reason to fay that we are forfaken by Courage rather than by Fortune, who prefents us with an Opportunity of gaining in fo fmall a Field, and in fo few Hours, Prizes fo great and honourable, that greater and more honourable would exceed the Bounds of our own Wishes."

In contradiction to this Speech of Tremouille the Prince of Orange spoke as follows.

Answer of "If our Affairs, Most Christian King, the Prince of Orange. Were not reduced within such a narrow Compass of Time, but were at such a Pass as to give us Leisure to conduct our Forces with Prudence and Industry, and we were not necessitated, if we intend to continue the

the War, to proceed impetuously, and A. D. contrary to all the Precepts of the military Art, I also would be one of those who would advise rejecting an Agreement: For, to speak the Truth, there are many Reasons why we should not accept it, fince it cannot be denied that the Continuation of the War would be very honourable, and highly conducive to the Success of our Affairs in Naples. But the Condition to which Novara and its Castle are reduced, where there is not a Day's Provision left, constrains us, if we intend to relieve it, to attack the Enemy without Delay. And even if we fuffer it to be loft, with a Design of transferring the War into some other Part of the State of Milan, the Winter Seafon, which now approaches, is very inconvenient for making War in those low and watry Places. The Condition of our Army, which from the Nature and so great a Multitude of Swifs, if it be not foon put in Action, may prove more pernicious to ourselves than to the Enemy; the extraordinary Scarcity of Money, which renders it impossible for us to maintain ourselves for any long Time,

lay us under a Necessity, if we accept not of the presentArticles, to strive for bringing the War to a speedy Conclusion; and that can be done no other Way than by directly marching up and attacking the Enemy, which, confidering their Condition and that of the Country, is a Step fo dangerous that Tremouille himfelf must acknowledge that to proceed in this Manner would be the highest Temerity and Imprudence. For their Camp is fo strong both by Nature and Art, and they have had fo long a Time to intrench and fortify it; the circumjacent Places, which they have garrisoned, are so commodious for their Defence, and fo well fortified; and the Country, from the Inclosures of the Ditches, and the Impediments of the Waters fo difficult for Cavalry, that whoever puts himself on his March in full Array in order to come up with them, and does not make his Approaches Step by Step, by diflodging them Place after Place from their fortified Avenues, and gain Ground upon them, as we fay, Inch by Inch, feeks to run himfelf into very great and unavoidable Danger. For by what Reafoning,

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foning, by what Rules of War, by what Example of excellent Generals, ought we to run violently on attacking fo numerous an Army, in fo strong a Camp, furnished with fuch a Quantity of Artillery? It would be necessary, unless we would leave the Event wholly to Chance, to dislodge them from their strong Situation, by taking Possession of some Post, that might command their Camp, or intercept their Provisions. But nothing of this, as far as I can judge, is to be expected but by proceeding maturely, and with Length of Time, which, every one knows, we are not in a Condition to wait: Not to mention that our Cavalry is neither fo numerous, nor so full of Spirits, as some perhaps persuade themselves, many, as is well known, being fick, many without Permission returned into France, and the greater Part of those who remain tired with the long Service, and more defirous to go into Quarters than to fight: And the great Number of Swiss, who are the principal Strength of our Army, is perhaps as prejudicial to us as a small Number would be useless. For what Man, who is experienced VOL. I.

A. D. perienced in the Nature and Manners of that Nation, and knows how difficult it is to keep fo large a Body of them in Order, will be Security for them that they shall not raise some dangerous Tumult, especially if the War be protracted to a confiderable Length, when on account of the Payments, in which they are infatiable, and of other Accidents, a thousand Occasions might arise to put them out of Humour? Thus must we be at a Loss whether their Affistance will serve us as a Remody or as a Poison; and under this Uncertainty how can we fettle our Counfels, with what Spirit can we refolve on any bold and grand Enterprise? None doubts that Victory would be more honourable, and more conducive to the Defence of the Kingdom of Naples, than Agreement. But in all human Actions, and especially in Wars, it is often requifite to accommodate Resolutions to Necessity, and not out of a Desire to obtain a Part which is too difficult, and almost impossible, to expose the Whole to most manifest Danger: Nor is it less the Part of a valiant General to perform the Office of a prudent than of a courageous

courageous Commander. The Enter- A. D. prife of Novara has not been your princi-1495. cipal Undertaking, but only indirectly concerned your Majesty, fince you pretend no Right to the Dutchy of Milan: Nor - did you leave Naples with a View to make a Stop, and carry on a War in Piedmont, but to return into France, in order to reestablish your Finances and your Military, that you might with the greater Vigour be enabled to fuccour the Kingdom of Naples. That Country in the mean time, by the Succour of the Fleet which is failed from Nizza with the Troops commanded by Vitelli, and by the Auxiliaries and Money of the Florentines, will defend itself so well, that it may with Security wait the Arrival of those powerful Supplies which your Majesty will take care to provide when you are once returned into France. I will not affirm, with fome, that the Duke of Milan will observe this Treaty; but as he and the Genoese are to give Hostages, and the Castelletto is to be put in your Hands, according to the Tenor of the Articles, you will at least have some Security, some Pledge. Nor will it also be much to be wondered Ff2

A. D. wondered at, if the Duke, to avoid being the first who will feel the Weight, of your Arms, should defire to live in Peace. Befides, it is the Nature of Leagues, where many Parties are concerned, not to have that Firmness and that Harmony which might exclude all Hopes of its Dissolution, or the Difunion of some Members from the rest, among whom every small Breach that we might make, every little Gap we fee, will enlarge itself to make Way for our eafy and secure Victory. To conclude, I advise your most Christian Majesty to an Agreement, not because it is advantageous and laudable in itself, but as it is the Part of wife Princes, in difficult and troublesome Deliberations, to approve as eafy and agreeable that which is necessary, or at least attended with less Difficulty and Danger than any of the rest."

> THE Duke of Orleans passed his Cenfures on this Speech of the Prince of Orange, and with such Sharpness, that both he and the Prince, transported with violent Passion, proceeded from hot to abusive Words, and Orleans gave the

the other the Lye before all the Council. The Inclinations, however, of most of the Members, and of almost the whole Army, were for accepting Peace, the Defire of returning into France being fo strong in all, and in the King as much as the rest, as to suppress all Sense of the Danger of the Kingdom of Naples, and of the Difgrace they would incur by fuffering Novara to be lost before their Eyes, and by departing out of Italy on Terms which, for the Uncertainty of their Performance, were highly iniquitous. This Refolution was promoted with so much Heat by the Prince of Orange, as to create in many a Suspicion that, at the Sollicitations of the King of the Romans, to whom he was much devoted, he had no less Regard to the Interest of the Duke of Milan, than to that of the King of France; and he was of great Authority with Charles, on account of his natural Parts and Valour, as well as because Princes are apt to esteem those as wise Men, who know best how to conform themfelves to their Inclinations.

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PEACE then was concluded, to which the Duke of Milan had no fooner fworn than the King, wholly intent on his Return to France, set out on a sudden for Turin, in a great Hurry, from Vercelli: For that Part of the Swiss which was in the Camp. in order to fecure their Pay for three whole Months, which, they faid, was always allowed them by Lewis XI. tho' it had not been now promifed them, and they had not yet ferved out that Time, confulted together about detaining either the King or the principal Persons of the Court; from which Danger, tho' the King himself escaped by his fudden Departure, yet the Swifs, having made Prisoners of the Bailiff of Dijon, and other great Persons, he was at last obliged to give them Security by Hostages and Promises that their Demands should be fatisfied.

THE King, more and more impatient to establish Peace, sent from Turin Marshal de Gié, the President Gannay, and Argenton, to the Duke of Milan, to desire a personal Conference. Lodovico seemed fond

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fond of the Proposal, but either suspecting fome Fraud, or perhaps studiously interposing Difficulties that he might not give Cause of Jealousy to the Allies, or out of Pride of appearing not inferior to the King of France, proposed the Meeting to be in the Midst of some River, over which there should be a Bridge of Boats. or of other Materials, and between him and the King a strong Barrier of Wood, in the same Manner as heretofore the Kings of France and England, and other great western Princes had met. This was refused by the King as beneath his Dignity; fo, after receiving the Hostages, he sent Peron de Basque to Genoa, to receive the two large Veffels agreed for, and to fit out four others at his own Expence, to fuccour the Castles of Naples, which he knew had not been relieved by the Fleet ordered from Nizza, and by Agreement were to be furrendered, if not fuccoured in Thirty Days. His Intention was to put immediately Three Thousand Swiss on board these Vessels, and join them with his Fleet, which was retired to Livorno, and other Ships that were daily expected from Provence. Such

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A. D. a Force was necessary, the Port of Naples being full of the Enemy's Fleet; for, befides those Vessels which Ferdinando had brought with him, the Venetians had fent Twenty Gallies, and Forty Ships. Argenton was fent also to Venice to press the Senate to accept of the Peace, and then the King, accompanied by his whole Court, began his Journey with fo much Speed and Eagerness, that he could not be prevailed on to wait a few Days in Italy to receive the Hostages of the Genoele, who would certainly have fent them had he tarried a little longer. And thus, about the End of October 1495, Charles, after fo many Victories, returned over the Mountains, more like a vanquished than victorious Prince. He left in Asti, which he pretended to have bought of the Duke of Orleans, Five Hundred French Lances under Gianjacopo Trivulzi, but most of them in a few Days without asking Leave followed him. In this manner Charles quitted Italy, without making any other Provision for the Kingdom of Naples, than the Ships that were arming at Genoa and in Provence,

# THE WARS IN ITALY.

vence, besides an Assignment of the Money and Aids promised by the Florentines.

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In giving the History of these Times, First Ap-I think it ought not to be forgot that, pearance amongst all other Calamities which over-of the whelmed Italy by the Coming of the Disease.

French, or were at least attributed to them, at this Time sirst appeared that Distemper which the French call the Distemper of Naples, and on their Return was spread all over Italy.

This Distemper, either quite new, or never known before in our Hemisphere, unless in its remotest Parts, has made for a Number of Years such a Havock, that it deserves to be mentioned as a fatal Calamity. It first discovered itself either by very loathsome Boils, which often became incurable Ulcers, or by acute Pains in all the Joints and Nerves throughout the Body; and unexperienced Physicians applied not only improper but often contrary Medicines, which irritated the Distemper, and proved fatal to a Multitude of both Sexes and of all Ages. Many became

A. D. became so horribly disfigured that they remained useless, and subject to almost perpetual Pains, and the best Part of those who feemed to be cured foon relapfed into the same Misery. But as some Years are now elapsed, either because the Celeftial Influence, which produced the Distemper in so virulent a Manner, is mitigated, or that by Length of Time proper Remedies have been found out, it has loft very much of its Malignity, and has also metamorphofed itself into several different Shapes fince its first Appearance. This is a Calamity which the present Generation might with Reason complain of, if it were transmitted to them by their Parents: But it is a received Opinion, that never, or at least very seldom, any one is afflicted with this Difease, any other Way than by Infection from Coition. However, the French, in Justice, ought to be cleared from this ignominious Imputation, for it afterwards plainly appeared that the Distemper was brought to Naples from Spain; nor was it the Product of that Country, but conveyed thither from those Islands which, about this Time, through the Means of Chri-Stopher

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flopher Colombus, a Genoese, as in a more pro- A. D. per Place will be related, began to be 1495. known in our Hemisphere. But Nature has been indulgent to the Inhabitants of those Islands in providing an easy Remedy; for, by drinking the Juice of a noble Wood, memorable also for many other good Qualities, which grows among them, they are easily cured.

The End of the Second Book, and First Volume.

abulan, Chale V. pefe 140

The Translator having preserved many Italian and Spanish Names where he imagined they might not be offensive to the Ear, has thought proper to add this Explanation.

Lorenzo Giovanni Lodovico Maria Piero 7 Pietro S Maddalena Giovanna Hannibale Francesco Carlotta Henrico Fieschi Fielco Bentivogli Bentivoglio S Livorno 'Facopo Paolo Tomaso San Vincentio Bernardino Castel Nuovo Castelletto Nizza

Charles Lawrence John Lewis Mary Peter Magdalen Foane Hannibal Francis Charlotte Henry The same Name. The fame Name. Legborn Fames Paul Thomas

Saint Vincent

The New Castle

The Little Castle

Bernard

Nice.

#### ERRATA:

Page viii l. 12 r. French and Spaniards. p. xvii l. 2 r. he was made. p. 1 l. 4 r. Princes. p. 11 l. 6 for and r. but also for. p. 32 l. 20 r. affish his Holiness. p. 47 l. 12 d. Increase. p. 68 r. Conditions. p. 80 r. Basque. p. 86 l. 3 r. or rather. p. 133 last l. r. lent. p. 138 l. 13 r. will strive. p. 201 r. Gratiano. p. 232 l. 23 r. had advised them to have been procured. p. 267 l. 1 d. a. p. 273 l. 3 r. them, all; l. 6 d. it. p. 295 l. 15 r. Florentines. p. 306 l. 21 r. by Castel. p. 346 l. 4. r. victorious in a Battle against Maximilian King. p. 401 l. 13 r. reversed, &c. &c.

